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A STUDY OF THE COINAGE OF CHIOS IN THE HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN PERIODS

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DEGREE: PHD

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ABSTRACT

The central part of the thesis consists of the chronological arrangement and discussion of the coin series struck by the Chian mint from the beginning of the Hellenistic period (c 332 BC) down to its demise during the late Roman Imperial period (c 270 AD). After establishing a sequence of issue for the individual series I consider other aspects of the coinage, such as patterns of issue, links with the economy, and developments in typology and denominations. These topics are presented and discussed in general chapters following that of the coin series.

The study of coin typology has contributed to our knowledge of Chian society and economy of the period. For example the adoption and permanent use of sphinx type on the obverse of the coinage offered the opportunity to trace the development of the main civic symbol of an ancient Greek city over a continued period of six centuries. The wine amphora appearing on the reverse of most coins revealed that this jar was manufactured locally at Chios throughout the Roman period, which archaeology has failed to record. This finding has repercussions on our idea of contemporary Chian economy since it constitutes strong evidence that the export of wine -known to have been an important economic activity for Chios in earlier periods- continued after Roman domination.

A separate chapter on the denominational system at Chios proved of particular importance for understanding the denominations used in the Eastern Greek world in general, since Chian coinage of the Roman period is one the few bearing marked denominational values. Numismatic findings have also contributed much to the meager information we have on the local history during Hellenistic and Roman periods. The last chapter discusses the Chian issues as economic objects and their circulation overseas. The study has established a link between the Chian trade pattern and foreign finds of this coinage during the same period.

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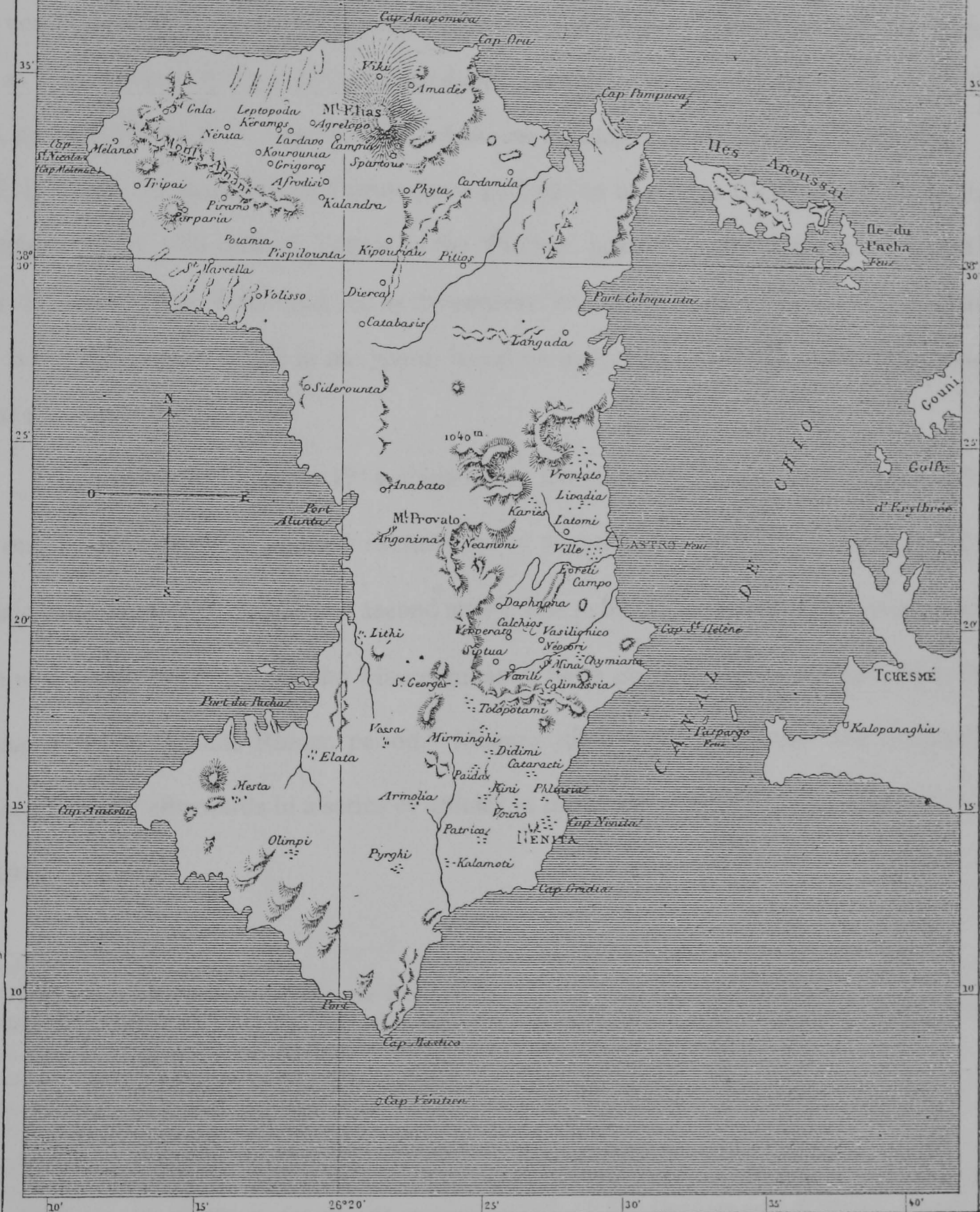
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PREFACE

The study of the coinage issued by Chios during antiquity remained a neglected part of Chian scholarship down to the early part of this century. Exceptionally in 1837 a catalogue of the city's coin types was included in a treatise with references to Chios in literary works.¹ A far from comprehensive range of Chian coin series was published in general numismatic works such as T. E. Mionnet's, *Description de Medailles antiques, Grecques et Romaines*, (Vol. III, 1808, pp. 264-278) or B. V. Head's, *British Museum Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Ionia* (1892, p. 346). The discovery and subsequent publication of a large Chian hoard during the last quarter of the 19th century, known as the 'Pithyos' hoard from the name of the island's region in which it was discovered, led to the earliest chronological classification of part of the local series -those represented in the hoard- based on numismatic evidence, rather than style, as was previously the rule.²

Two articles published in 1914 discussed in length the coinage of ancient Chios. The first one by Bret Baldwin centred exclusively on the electrum and silver coinage of the Archaic and Classical periods.³ The second article was published in a local Chian journal and contained a long summary of John Maurogordato's work on the coinage of Chios from the Archaic down to the late Roman period.⁴ Maurogordato's complete study was eventually published shortly afterwards in a series of articles in the *Numismatic Chronicle* between 1915 and 1918.⁵

¹ J.F. Whitte, *De Rebus Chiorum publicis ante Dominationem Romanorum*, Copenhagen, 1838

² See the publication by A. Löbbecke, 'Munzfund auf der Insel Chios', *ZfN* 14, (1887), pp. 149-157, Pl. VI. The hoard is today in the possession of the Münzkabinett of the Berlin Staatliche Museen.

³ B. Baldwin, 'The Electrum and Silver coinage of Chios', *AJN* 48, (1914), pp 1-60

⁴ J. Maurogordato, 'Ἡ Νομισματοκοπία τῆς Χίου ἐν τοῖς Ἀρχαίοις Χρόνοις', ('Chian Coin Issues during Antiquity'), *Chiaka Chronika* 1, (1914), pp. 55-81.

⁵ J. Maurogordato, 'A Chronological Arrangement of the Coinage of Chios', Part I, *NC* 15 (1915), pp. 1-52, Pl. I-II; Part II, *NC* 15 (1915), pp. 361-430, Pl. XVIII-XIX; Part III, *NC* 16, (1916), pp. 281-355, Pl. X-XI; Part IV, *NC* 17 (1917), pp. 207-257, Pl. IX; Part V, *NC* (18) 1918, pp 1-79, Pl. I-II. There are main differences between the version of Maurogordato's work appearing in the *Chiaka Chronika*, and his own publication in *Numismatic Chronicle*. For example in the *Chiaka Chronika*, 1914, p. 76, the main series of Chian Hellenistic drachms on the Attic weight, together with the largest bronze series comprising coins of approximately 17.00 mm in diameter and showing the sphinx facing left, are dated after 84 BC. This agrees with the date proposed for these issues by BMC but is different to Maurogordato's own date for most of these series in the period 190-88 BC (*NC* 16, 1916, pp. 299-301). It seems that either Maurogordato changed his views on their chronology between the time of the

Developments in the field of numismatics throughout the 20th century and findings linked to aspects of Chios's past have shown that Maurogordato's study is outdated and should be replaced.⁶ This led N. Hardwick in producing a new survey of the Chian coinage struck during the Archaic and Classical periods.⁷ His research brought about a wide range of changes to the traditional chronology of the issues and at the same time shed light on further aspects of the coinage, hardly touched upon in earlier studies of these issues of the Chian mint (Baldwin, 1914, pp. 1-60; Maurogordato, 1915, pp. 1-361).

The following study continues the research of the coinage of Chios, from the end of the Classical period down to its cessation during the 270s AD. Its main aim is the classification and dating of the coin series based on the available historical, archaeological and epigraphic evidence. The study also discusses patterns of issues for individual series, developments in typology and denominations, links with the economy, etc. A separate chapter on the denominations of Chios is of particular importance for comprehending the denominational systems used throughout the Eastern Greek world, since the Chian mint during the Roman period marked almost all of its coinage with denominational values. The last part of the study is a discussion of the local economy and the relevance of the coinage in its study.

publication of his summary for Chiaka Chronika and articles for NC or that the translator of Maurogordato's summary for Chiaka Chronika, C. Pylarinos, chose to follow BMC wherever Maurogordato's views on the coinage differed to those of the editors of BMC.

⁶ Maurogordato depended mainly on stylistic criteria when arranging chronologically the individual series; see, NC 1915, p 2, his remark that: *The student [of the Chian coinage], in short, has to rely mainly on his observation of small technical details, and on the evolution of style.* As we will see in detail throughout this study, Maurogordato overlooked other types of evidence available to him. Sometimes he followed ideas held by his contemporary numismatists and historians, to the point of dismissing clear evidence whenever this would have contradicted traditional theories.

⁷ *The Coinage of Chios from the Sixth to the Fourth century B. C.*, D. Phil. thesis, Oxford, 1991. Dr Hardwick completed his thesis recently and this has not yet appeared in print. A summary with the results of his research is included in 'The coinage of Chios, 6th-4th century BC' in *Proceedings of the XIth International Numismatic Congress*, C. Courtois, H. Dewit, V. Van Driessche (eds), (Louvain 1993), pp. 211-222.

The coinage is an important source on the history of Chios. However since little has survived on the local history of the Hellenistic and Roman periods I have brought all known information into a general chapter at the beginning of the thesis rather than include any known developments in the discussion of the individual series. Wherever the coinage may be associated with historical events this is briefly mentioned in the historical chapter and discussed in detail in the relevant section dealing with the particular series.

For abbreviations of periodical and book titles see *Roman Provincial Coinage*, A. Burnett, M. Amandry (eds), London, 1993, Vol. I, Preface, p. xi. The following abbreviations have been used for coin collections included in the catalogues appearing at the end of the discussion for each series:

Amsterdam: Academie der Wissenschaften zu Amsterdam (A. W. A.)

Ankara: Anatolian Civilizations Museum (A. C. M.)

Athens: Nomismatiko Mouseio (Numismatic Museum) (N. M.)

Athens: Euelpidou collection (E. c.)

Athens: Trapeza Pistews (Credit Bank) collection (C. b. c.)

Athens: Athens Agora; coins found during the excavation of this site by the American School (A. A.)

Berlin: Staatliche Museen (M. K.); individual collections in this cabinet include, Fox (F. 1873), Lobbecke (L. 1905), Imhoof-Blumer (I. B., 1906 and 1928) and smaller collections.

Berlin: Sammlung Amersdorffer Staatliche Museen Preubischer Kulturbesitz Antikenmuseum (A. S. M. P. K. A.)

Boston: Museum of Fine Arts (M. F. A.)

Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum (F. M.); individual collections in this cabinet include McClean (M. c.).

Mossop (Mos. c.); Leake (L. c.); Lewis (Lew. c.)

Chios: Archaeologiko Mouseion (A. M.)

Chios: Koraes Library collection (K. L.); a collection of ancient and modern coins held in the central library of the modern town of Chios and published by C. A. Papageorgiadou, 'Ανεκδοτη νομισματική συλλογή της βιβλιοθήκης Κοραή Χίου', ('The unpublished numismatic collection of the Koraes library in Chios'), *Χιακά Χρονικά* 12, 1985, pp. 3-18. Most coins were bought from a certain Argyropoulos, a local of Chios, during the 1870's; a few coins have since been added. Other coins at Chios referred to in this study include a small number of coins in the coin collection of the central High school and Lyceum (High school collection) of Chios Town, and a few coins in private hands.

Copenhagen: Danish National Museum (D. N. M.)

Corinth: Archaeologiko Mouseio of Ancient Corinth (A. M.); coins found in the excavations of Ancient Corinth by the American School at Athens.

Glasgow: Glasgow University (G. U.); individual collections in this cabinet include Hunter (H. c.) and Coles (C. c.).

Lisbon: Gulbenkian Collection (Gul. c.)

Istanbul: Archaeological Museum (A. M.); information on this coin collection kindly provided by Dr. Harwick.

Larisa: A collection held in the Town Hall of this city (T. c.)

Leipzig: Leipzig University collection (L. U.)

London: British Museum, Coins and Medals Department (B. M.)

London: Philip Kinns collection (K. c.)

Munich: Staatliche Munzsammlung (M. K.)

Munich: Tübingen Universität collection (T. U.)

Napoli: Museo Nazionale (M. N.)

N. York: American Numismatic Society (A. N. S.)

Otago: Otago University Museum (O. U.)

Oxford: Ashmolean Museum (A. M.)

Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale (B. N.); individual collections include Dellapiere (D. c.), De Luyne (D. L. c.), Gaudin (G. c.) and duplicates (Dup). Coins in this cabinet marked with ST belonged to public collections in Amsterdam, Holland, but were seized during the French occupation in the early 19th century.

Turin: Regio Museo (R. M.)

Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum (K. M.); coins noted with T used to belong to the Theupolitanum Museum

Vienna: Stiftes Schotten (Sc. Sc.)

Vienna: Institute für Numismatik (I. N.)

For coins from dealer's catalogues and auctions, see individual references.

In the coin catalogues the letter *M* followed by a number is reference from Maugordato's publication; *RPC* followed by a number refers to issues included in *Roman Provincial Coinage*. An asterisk next to the record of a coin of a silver issue denotes that its weight was included in the average weight of the series (pierced, damaged, and worn coins have been excluded from the average weight). The discussion of each series includes plates of the photographs of almost all silver and a large body of bronze coins.⁸

The numbering system that I use for the bronze coinage was devised by Hardwick for the (bronze) coinage of the Classical period and I see no reason to adopt a new one for the Hellenistic period.⁹ I have introduced a different numbering system for the Chian bronze coinage of the Roman Imperial period since this displays different features to the one produced until that time.¹⁰ Silver issues are identified by their standard; wherever silver issues appear on the same standard -but belong to different periods- a Latin numeral has been added next to the name of the standard (e.g. drachms on the Attic standard I, Attic standard II, etc).

⁸ Illustrations of 1076 coins are included in this study of which 314 are silver and 762 of bronze. Note that a few photographs are from coin catalogues and not of the best quality. I have attempted to include at least one photograph of every recorded die. Because of the limit on the thesis it proved impossible to illustrate all available coins; this is reserved for a future publication.

⁹ Hardwick has classified bronze issues of the Classical period as Series 11-13. Bronze issues of the Hellenistic Period are classified in the current study as Series 14-24.

¹⁰ Roman Series I-III. Wherever this has been deemed necessary series are subdivided in groups bearing individual letters. Following Series III, Chian issues are usually inscribed with the name of a magistrate which is used in this study as a mark -in the place of a numeral- for identifying these later issues. This system is clearly more convenient than that of Maugordato who subdivided the Roman Series into a large number of types and subtypes.

INTRODUCTION

Research of Chian archaeology and history

The greatest problem in the study of Ancient Chios is the lack of significant archaeological finds on the island. As a result of this, attempts to reconstruct the local history of the Greco-Roman period have been based on the study of literary sources and the large body of Chian inscriptions that have survived.

Cyriac of Ancona was the first to publish inscriptions of Chios as early as 1446, and the island's inscriptions have been recorded, edited, and published ever since.¹¹ Ancient literary sources on Chios were first collected and published by the Chian scholar Leo Allatius, during the mid 17th century.¹² This work was completed two centuries later by Adamantios Koraes, another scholar of Chian birth, who published a full account of all ancient literary references to Chios in 1830.¹³

It is mainly through these publications that the classical past of the island became widely known and many Europeans visiting the Near East during the Ottoman era included Chios in their itineraries.¹⁴ However, the scholars among these visitors were often disappointed to discover that the island had nothing more to show from its ancient past than a few insignificant ruins, in contradiction to the many references in ancient literary sources that

¹¹ See W. G. Forrest, 'Epigraphy in Chios -Cyriac of Ancona to Stephanou', published in *Chios: a Conference at the Homereion in Chios, 1984*, pp. 133-38, (Oxford, 1986), edited by J. Boardman and C. E. Vaphopoulou-Richardson, with an account of the research on Chian inscriptions from the 15th century to the present. He notes that a number of famous scholars visited Chios and recorded local inscriptions during the Ottoman period, for example J. Akerblad, count Vidua, and others. Fustel de Coulanges published a number of inscriptions from Chios in *Memoire sur l'ile de Chio*, 'Archives de Missions Scientifiques et Litteraires. Choix de Rapports et Instructions publies sous les auspices de Ministere de l' Instruction Publique et des Cultes', Vol. 5, Cahiers 10, 11, 12, pp. 481-642, (Paris, 1856). During the late 19th and early 20th centuries real experts in the field of ancient epigraphy took an interest in the island's inscriptions, e.g. Dittenberger, Schwyzer, Wilamowitz, A.Plassart and C. Picard. These were succeeded later on in this century by Vansevern, L.Robert, W. Forrest, Tsabaropoulos, and others. Chian inscriptions have been published on an annual basis in *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, but since 1983 all new discoveries are usually first reported in *Horos*, the Greek epigraphical journal. A large contribution to the study of Chian inscriptions was also made by Chians who copied inscriptions and had them published abroad, see for example, M Krispis and A.Fontrieros, or others who formed collections of inscriptions and published them locally, for example C. Sarikakis, G Zolotas and A Stephanou.

¹² Leon Allatius, *De Homeri Patria*, (Lugduni, 1640).

¹³ Koraes published the literary references to Chios in *Atakta*, volume III, (Paris, 1830), entitled 'Χιακή Αρχαιολογίας Υ'λη' ('Archaeological material from Chios'). Koraes's work was used by G. Zolotas as the basis of his history of Chios (*Ιστορία της Χίου*), Vol. I, (Athens, 1921); Vol. II, (Athens, 1924).

¹⁴ For foreigners visiting Chios during the Ottoman occupation see F. Argentis and S. Kuriakidou, 'Η Χίος παρα τοις γεωγράφοις και περιηγηταίς από του ογδοού μέχρι του εικοστού αιώνα' (Chios and geographers and travellers between the eighth and twentieth century'), published in three volumes, (Athens, 1946).

spoke of the richness and splendour of the ancient city of Chios; after all, this was claimed in ancient literary sources to have been among the wealthiest cities in Classical Greece (see pp. 9-12).

The archaeological exploration of Chios has been hindered by the fact that the only important civic centre on the island from the Archaic period onwards was the city of Chios which today lies under the foundations of its modern namesake town. These ancient remains were never explored since no major excavation on the site was ever undertaken. In recent years a few minor digs in the town centre have unearthed traces of ancient houses, with possibly part of the city-walls, and a few artifacts.¹⁵

Archaeologists had to confine their research to other sites on Chios, outside the city. The earliest survey of the island's antiquities was conducted in 1913 by Kourouniotis;¹⁶ this archaeologist also located and excavated the ruins of the temple of Apollo in the region of Kato Phana, an important sanctuary of Archaic and Classical Chios. In recent years the British School in Athens has also conducted archaeological surveys and excavations of a number of sites at Chios.¹⁷

¹⁵ Occasionally some antiquities are found within the limits of the modern town of Chios and these are reported in the *Chiaka Chronika* or the *Archaeologikon Deltion*. J. Boardman, 'The Ancient city of Chios', *ABSA* 49, (1954), pp. 123-128, published a summary of the most important of these discoveries up until 1954. Since the late 1970s the city of Chios has undergone redevelopment on an extensive scale, which offers the opportunity for many limited excavations throughout the city. These have uncovered a tiny section of the ancient city of the Classical-Roman periods including finds associated with a theatre, a gymnasium and a sanctuary of Demeter, and possibly another one of Hestia, see E. Yalouris, 'Notes on the topography of Chios', published in *Chios: a Conference*, (Oxford, 1986), pp. 141-166, pp. 143-144. The borders of the ancient city were established from the discovery and excavation of grave sites on the periphery of the modern town. Nevertheless even today the modern town of Chios town gives the impression to visitors that it has no ancient past. One must look hard to locate the few foundations of ancient buildings between the modern houses. The most visible traces of ancient buildings may be found in the city's medieval castle mostly built under the Genouats rulers of Chios between 14th and 16th centuries, where much of its building material consists of ancient blocks and marbles, some of which clearly belonged to public buildings (a theatre?)

¹⁶ Kourouniotis published the results of his survey of ancient sites on Chios alongside reports on the excavations of the temple of Apollo at Phana (see below) in 'Ανασκαφαί και έρευναι εν Χίω, I, ('Excavations and research on Chios') *AD* 1, (1915), pp. 64-93 and II, *AD* 2, (1916), pp. 190-215. The British School at Athens also conducted a survey of Chian sites of the Classical-Roman periods, see D.W. Hunt, 'An Archaeological survey of the Classical Antiquities of the island of Chios carried out between the months of March and July 1938', *ABSA* 41 (1940-5), pp 29-52. E Yalouris, *Chios: a Conference*, pp. 141-166, also conducted his own survey of most known sites on the island of Chios, dating from Prehistoric to the modern times.

¹⁷ The discovery and excavation of the temple of Apollo by K.Kourouniotis remains the single most important archaeological discovery on Chios to date. In 1935 the British School at Athens started its own excavations and explorations on Chios which continued until 1959. On the whole these excavations concentrated on villages or farmhouses of the Classical period in the regions of Delphinion, Kato Phanas, Pindakas. Two other sites Emporio and Kophinas produced significant finds linked to economic activities at Chios. The former contained a small unknown town dating to the Geometric and Archaic period which seems to have been an export centre for local

The few architectural remains and artifacts, mainly inscriptions and coins, together with ancient literary references constitute all the evidence we possess today on the ancient past of Chios (Yalouris, *Chios: a Conference*, 1986, p. 143). Consequently the study of any part of this evidence would have a significant effect on our knowledge and understanding not only of a class of artifacts but on ancient Chios in general.

products. Though the town itself was abandoned before the Classical period, the harbour continued to function throughout Antiquity. Kophinas is a small settlement on the periphery of the ancient city of Chios and as such represents the only large scale archaeological excavation which may be associated with the city of Chios. The results of the excavations of the British School at Athens on Chios have been published in various volumes of ABSA; for Kophinas, see J. K. Anderson, 'Excavation on the Kofina Ridge, Chios', ABSA 49, (1954), pp. 123-165; for Delphinion, J. Boardman, 'Delphinion in Chios', ABSA 51, (1956), pp. 41-54; for Pindakas, J. Boardman, 'Excavations at Pindakas in Chios', ABSA 53-54, (1958-9), pp. 295-309; Emporio, J. Boardman, *Excavations in Chios 1952-1955: Greek Emporio*, ABSA Supl. Vol. 6, (London, 1967). In 1959 the British School at Athens undertook an extensive underwater exploration on the coasts of Chios the results of which were published by J. Boardman, 'Underwater reconnaissance off the island of Chios, 1954', ABSA 56, (1961), pp. 102-113. The British also continued the excavation of the temple of Apollo at Phana left over by Kourouniotis, see W Lamb, 'Excavations at Kato Phana in Chios', ABSA 35 (1934-5), pp. 138-164 but the outbreak of the 2nd World War brought an end to this excavation. Almost sixty years later, during 1997-8, the British School in Athens resumed excavating at this site. Other Chian sites of the Prehistoric, Geometric and early Archaic periods were also excavated after the war by British or Greek archaeologists and reports on these were also published in ABSA or AD. These reports were used extensively by E. Yalouris in 'The Archaeology and Early History of Chios', unpublished doctoral dissertation, Bodleian Library, (Oxford University, 1976), which mostly concentrates on the Geometric-Archaic periods in Chian history.

Chios during the Archaic and Classical periods:

The history of Chios from the time of the Ionian migrations (11th century BC) to the early 5th century BC was closely associated to that of the opposite region of Ionia, only ten nautical miles away from Chios. The location of the island -near Ionia but a long distance away from Greece and the other Aegean islands- caused its inhabitants to develop more ties with the Greek cities on the coast of Asia Minor than with the Greek mainland or other islands of the Aegean. It is no coincidence that the only city of Chios was founded on the eastern coast facing the shores of Ionia.

The Chians shared with the other Greeks of Ionia common kingship, dialect, history, political and cultural developments, but above all, they had common economic interests (see pp. 10-11). This heritage and interests brought all cities of Ionia together during the early Archaic period in a single political and religious formation, known as the 'Ionian League'; Chios was member to this league and one of its most important

The pivotal role Chios played within the 'Ionian League' was made possible by the fact that this city was one of the wealthiest anywhere in the Greek world during the Archaic and Classical periods.¹⁸ This wealth was generated by two economic activities, transit maritime trade and the production and export of local wine (see pp. 10-12). The island never seems to have produced enough grain to feed its population which would probably have turned to trading for acquiring grain from overseas.¹⁹ Chios did not found any colonies during the Archaic period, as did most other Greek cities, and it is reasonable to assume that it was

¹⁸ On Chian wealth during the Archaic period, see C. Roebuck, 'The grain trade between Greece and Egypt', CP 45 (1950), pp. 236-247, p. 239. For the Classical period see the comment by Thucydides which is quoted below.

¹⁹ Maurogordato, 1915, p. 8; C. Roebuck, 'The economic development of Ionia', CP 48, (1953), pp. 9-28, p. 24 estimates that Chios may have been importing as much as a third of its grain from abroad. T. C. Sarikakis, 'Οι εμπορικές σχέσεις της Χίου με τις άλλες Ελληνικές πόλεις από τους πρώιμους αρχαϊκούς ως τους πρώιμους Ρωμαϊκούς χρόνους' (Trading relations between Chios and the other Greek cities from the early Archaic to the early Roman Periods), Chiaka Chronika, (1984), pp. 34-50, p. 34, discusses early Chian trade in association with the island's need to import grain.

already profiting by this time from trade (Roebuck, 1950, pp. 239-240). Much of these profits would have gone into the purchase of grain, thus restricting the need to send colonists abroad.²⁰

Overseas, Chians were only involved in the establishment of trading posts that would have facilitated their economic activities;²¹ most famous of these was Naucratis in Egypt. The contribution of Chios in the foundation and running of this Greek trading centre was underplayed by the ancient historians but archaeological findings at the site have revealed that Chian presence in the city was prominent.²² These also show Chios was trading heavily with Egypt from the late 7th century BC,²³ suggesting that the island was already established as a major trading power in the region. Archaeological finds at Emporio (Boardman, *Greek Emporio*) and Kato Phana (Kourouniotis, 1914, pp. 123-156) include many objects imported to Chios from Egypt and the Near East. The period also marks the construction of the temple of Apollo at Phana and extensive building activities at Emporio and possibly the city of Chios (see the previous references).

There is no evidence that the island was exporting wine before the late 7th century BC,²⁴ and it would seem that during the early Archaic period Chian traders were either exporting other local products or were involved in the transit trade between Asia Minor and mainland Greece. This type of trade was centred on luxury items manufactured in the Near East which became popular in mainland Greece during the Archaic period. Such products

²⁰ See below for Chian involvement in the grain trade between Egypt and Greece.

²¹ For the founding of Chian trading posts in the Caria and Egypt see Sarikakis, 1984, p. 34, f. 2. Only the colony of Maroneia in Thrace seems to have included permanent settlers from Chios, but even these are thought to have been sent there primarily to serve trading interests of Chios in the region; on this point see Roebuck, 1950, p. 34.

²² See the discussion by C. Roebuck, 'The organisation of Naucratis', CP 46, (1951), pp. 212-220, p. 217.

²³ This is based on the date of the earliest Chian ware found at Naukratis, see Roebuck, 1950, p. 41, f. 73.

²⁴ V. R. Grace, *Amphorae and the Ancient Wine Trade*, booklet no. 6, (Athens, 1979), published by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, dates the earliest Chian amphorae in the first half of the 6th century BC. An early Chian amphora found during the British excavations of the ancient city of Smyrna was recovered in a late 7th century BC context; see J. M. Cook, in 'Old Smyrna 1948-1951' pp. 1-181, ABSA 53-54 (1958-9), 'The site and its environs', pp. 1-34, p. 14, and p. 16, fig. 4, a photograph of the jar. Literary references to Chian wine start in the 5th century BC, see Roebuck, 1950, p. 239.

arriving in the ports of Asia Minor were transported to the markets of Greece by ships of Ionia (Roebuck, 1950, p. 239). Chios seems to have been a major participant in this trade²⁵ on account of its geographical position between Ionia and Greece, and its possession of one of the largest merchant fleets in the region.²⁶

The export of Chian wine seems to have started in earnest during the early 6th century BC, as attested by the date of the earliest known Chian amphorae.²⁷ The quality of this wine was particularly fine and its reputation quickly spread throughout the Greek world.²⁸ Since the Chians were already trading at the time, with established contacts throughout the Eastern Mediterranean, they were able to promote their product widely abroad and trade it on a large scale. The many finds of Chian amphorae dating to the 6th and 5th centuries BC²⁹ and references in contemporary literary sources show that the wine trade became highly successful turning into an important aspect of the Chian economy.

Other products of Chios that were exported during the Archaic and Classical periods, but on a smaller scale to wine, included marble,³⁰ works of art,³¹ pottery,³² and possibly mastic.³³ During the late Archaic period Chios was also among the first cities to start trading

²⁵ On the possible role of Chios in this trade see the discussion by T. Sarikakis, 'Η Χίος κατά την Αρχαιοτητα' ('Chios during Antiquity'), EETH., Vol. 14, (1975), pp. 351-371, p. 358.

²⁶ For ancient literary references to the Chian fleet during the Archaic and Classical period see Sarikakis, 1975, p. 358, f. 1.

²⁷ Grace, 1979; Boardman, *Greek Emporio*, p. 179, has suggested that Chios may have been producing amphorae before the 6th century BC.

²⁸ Chian wine was probably the most expensive in the Greek world, see Sarikakis, 1946, p. 34; for ancient literary references, see C. Seltman, *Wine in the Ancient World*, (London, 1957), pp. 73-74, 83, 92, 119, 132, 147, and G. Spanos, Το κρασί της Αριοῦσι'ας ('The wine of Ariousia'), Chiaki Ephemeris, 4 (1966), pp. 48-61.

²⁹ For finds of Chian amphorae during the Archaic and Classical periods, see Grace, *ibid.*

³⁰ On the production of marble for commercial purposes at Chios, see P. Gardner, 'The financial history of ancient Chios', JHS 40, (1920), pp. 160-173, p. 160.

³¹ Pliny, N. H., XXXVI. 12, referring to Chian sculptors whose works were renowned throughout Greece. A number of important statues of the Archaic and early Classical period found at Delphi, Delos, and Athens are considered as originating from Chios.

³² See A. Laimou 'Το εμπόριο της Χιακής κεραμεικής στην Αρχαϊκή Εποχή' ('The trade of Chian pottery during the Archaic period'), 1992, pp. 27-33. Large amounts of Chian ware were found at Naukratis (down to c 540 BC), Cyrenaika, Aegina, Athens and the Black Sea.

³³ On Chios grows the variety of mastic known as *Pistacia lentiscus*. For the island's export of mastic during antiquity see Boardman, *Greek Emporio*, p. 252. As I discuss below the earliest undisputed reference to the export of Chian mastic dates to the 1st century AD, though it is likely that the trade of this produce would have already existed in earlier centuries.

slaves in the Greek world;³⁴ the island's involvement in this activity continued during the Classical period as attested in literary sources.³⁵ The slave trade in ancient times was extremely profitable and the wealth the Chians would have acquired from it may have rivalled even that made from the wine export (Sarikakis, 1975, p. 359).

As a city of trade and commerce, Chios is likely to have adopted relatively early the new medium of exchange for the Archaic world, coinage. This seems to be confirmed by Hardwick (1993, pp. 211-212) who has recently suggested that Chios struck its first coinage in the middle of the 6th century BC.³⁶ The island's earliest coinage consists of issues of the stater denomination struck in electrum and fractions in silver. The standard and choice of metal for the largest denomination appears to have been copied from issues struck in Ionia, reflecting the close economic ties between Chios and this region at the time. During c 550-493 BC Chios also issued silver staters which were exported in large numbers to Egypt where as we saw Chian traders were already established. By c 500 BC silver became exclusively the metal Chios struck its large denominations -with a single issue in electrum- down to the end of the Classical period.

³⁴ First attested in Herodotus, VIII, 105; Theopompus quoted by Athenaios VI, 88.

³⁵ See Thucydides, VIII. 40. 2, stating that Chios had the largest number of slaves in Greece after Sparta.

³⁶ On Chian issues during the Archaic and Classical period I have followed Hardwick, 1993, pp. 211-222.

During the Archaic period Ionia and Chios were under the political influence of the kingdom of Lydia but retained much of their independence (C. Roebuck, 'Chios in the 6th Century BC' in *A Conference at the Homereion of Chios in 1984*, Oxford, 1986, pp. 83-5). However this changed dramatically when Cyrus of Persia brought an end to the Lydian kingdom and took hold of its territories. Ionia was occupied and paid tribute to the Persian king. Chios suffered a similar fate with the other Greeks of this region, though it seems to have retained its autonomy under Persia at least down to 493 BC. From this date and until 479 BC Chios suffered full Persian occupation.³⁷

The defeat of the Persian expeditionary force in Greece during 480/479 BC quickly put an end to the occupation of Chios and Ionia by the Persians. Upon liberation, Chios -as most other Greek cities formerly ruled by Persia- joined the Delian League, under the leadership of Athens, the emerging great power of mainland Greece and protector of the Greeks in the Aegean and Asia Minor from the Persian threat. As a result Chian interests now coincided with those of Athens, and the traditional influence Ionia exerted on the island became restricted.

³⁷ For an outline of the most important events in Chian history from the late Archaic to the end of the Classical period referred to here, see Hardwick, 1991, pp. 78-110 & pp. 153-161, and J. P. Barron, 'Chios in the Athenian Empire' in *A Conference at the Homereion of Chios in 1984*, (Oxford, 1986), pp. 89-103. In summary we may note that during the 7th-6th century Chios followed the course of the other Ionians, paying tribute to Lydia and from the mid 6th century BC to the Persian king. Chios still retained its autonomy under Persia -in contrast to the Ionians on Asia Minor- but this did not prevent the Chians from participating in the revolt of Ionia against the Persian Empire (499 BC). The island contributed a larger consignment of ships in the Ionian navy than any other city at the battle of Lades (494 BC), the last engagement of this war, which ended in total defeat for the Ionians. As soon as the revolt was put down a Persian army landed on Chios, destroyed the city and led the survivors into banishment. Some Chians escaped to mainland Greece and during the Greco-Persian wars, fought in the battles at Plateae and Mycale (479 BC) on the Greek side. Chios was finally liberated in 479 BC and immediately joined the Athenian alliance becoming eventually one of its important members. From now onwards the island developed close contacts with Athens and followed a pro-Athenian policy down to the last decade of the Peloponnesian war (431-404 BC). Chios proved a loyal ally of Athens aiding her with ships and troops in most battles of this war. However following the Athenian disaster in the expedition against Sicily (413 BC) -during which, many Chians were killed- it became clear that Athens was losing the war. This prompted the Chians in 412 BC to join the enemies of Athens, but the next year the Athenians attacked the island, defeated the locals in battle and forced them to rejoin them. After the capitulation of Athens (404 BC), and down to the start of Alexander's Eastern campaign in 334 BC, Chian history is marked by a succession of alliances between the island and the major Greek powers of the day. From the mid 4th century BC the island seems to have come under the control of the satrap of Caria.

Over the course of the 5th century BC most allies of Athens turned into her subjects paying taxes and arranging all matters according to her wishes; Chios however retained a large degree of independence and continued contributing to the alliance ships and men, not money. The Chian economy greatly benefited from the alliance with Athens which would explain why the local government never attempted to leave it as many other subject cities tried unsuccessfully. In particular the 5th century BC is marked by an increase in foreign trade for Chios. The presence of the Athenian navy in the Eastern Mediterranean guaranteed the safe passage for ships of the allied cities and also opened markets that were previously inaccessible to them (Black Sea-Thrace-Asia Minor). Chian amphorae from this century are found in larger quantities and number of sites than any other period in the island's history. During the 5th century BC Chios was accumulating great wealth, to the extent that Thucydides recorded (VIII, 45, 4) that the Chians were the wealthiest Greeks after the Spartans.

The coinage struck by Chios during the 5th century BC is an added source of evidence on the increased prosperity of Chios under the Athenian Empire. It consists of staters and drachms and seems to have been particularly common during the period c 480-425 BC. The majority of coins with a provenance outside Chios come from sites within the control of the Athenians, the coast of Asia Minor and islands of the Aegean, and are a reflection of the flow of trade between Chios and the Athenian Empire (Hardwick, 1993, pp. 213-216 & p. 221, Map, fig. 3). Contrary to the Archaic period few Chian coins of the Classical period are recorded from Egypt and this is a clear sign of the demise of economic contacts between Chios and this region.

The Peloponnesian War (431-404 BC) between Athens -and her subject states- against Sparta and her allies severely interrupted international trade with grave consequences for the Chian economy. The city and its environs also suffered extensive damage from the Athenian

siege of 412 BC -following an aborted attempt by Chios to switch sides in the war- and the ensuing battles that took place on the island. The final defeat of Athens in 404 BC and the collapse of her empire did not affect Chian political -and economic- dependency on Greek cities of the mainland during the first half of the 4th century BC. After a brief period of alignment with Sparta (404-394), Chios became once again allied to Athens (378). However, two decades later relations between Chios and Athens deteriorated to the point that Chios denounced the alliance in 355 BC and joined a league of other former Athenian allies in the Aegean fighting a war with Athens.

The breaking up of the Athenian alliance seems to have been orchestrated by the satraps of Caria -only nominally subject to the Persian king- who eventually brought much of the Aegean under their control, including Chios. This lasted until 334 BC when Alexander launched his expedition against the Persian Empire in the course of which as we will see Chios became part of his empire.

From c 400 BC and afterwards Chios adapted its coinage entirely to that of the Greek mainland by striking tetradrachms and drachms, in place of staters and its fractions. This period also saw the earliest issue of Chios in bronze. From the middle of the 4th century BC the production of silver -and also bronze- coinage is very limited, and issues are no longer found abroad, with the exception of Caria (Hardwick, 1993, pp. 221-2, Map, fig. 4).

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND:

CHIOS DURING THE HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN PERIODS:

I. 1. Sources on the history of the period:

This chapter attempts to reconstruct the history of Chios during the Hellenistic and Roman periods based on the available literary, epigraphic and archaeological sources. The study of the local coinage has also produced evidence relating to the island's history which is summarily included in the following account. However this type of evidence and its historical significance is fully discussed in the outline of the coinage and the relevant sections with the individual series, where I also present and discuss the impact that historical events might have had on the coinage.

Chian history for most of the Hellenistic and Roman periods is shrouded in mystery and we know less about the island during this long time than we do for the Classical period. This is mainly attributed to the lack of any references to Chios in ancient literary sources, outside the island's involvement in a few major historical events of the period. Inscriptions offer some limited information on economic and social developments and also shed light on events of lesser importance affecting Chios, and which were in a few cases not recorded in contemporary literary sources. Published archaeological finds from Chios dating to these periods are so rare as to be of little aid in a reconstruction of Chian history.

I. 2. Chios and Alexander the Great: Chios was conquered by Alexander in 332 BC and this event marks the beginning of the Hellenistic period for the island. The conquest was a long drawn affair and its episodes are well documented in ancient literary sources and contemporary inscriptions.³⁸ Chios was probably targeted by the Macedonians in 336 BC, prior to Alexander's Eastern expedition, when their general Parmenion invaded Asia and brought some of the cities of Ionia over to the Macedonian camp (Heisserer, 1980, p. 83). The Persians however immediately launched a counter strike under the leadership of Memnon of Rhodes and regained control of all these cities. In 334 BC Chios was again briefly occupied by Macedonian troops but Memnon once more succeeded in driving them out of the island. We are explicitly told that on this occasion he received the inside help of pro-Persian locals (Arrian, 2. 1. 1; Diodorus 17. 29. 2). In an attempt to fend off any future attacks the Persians garrisoned the island and put the satrap Pharnabazus in charge (Arrian 2. 13. 4-5).³⁹

It took Alexander a further two years to conquer Chios and during a surprise attack in 332 BC his general Hegelochos, overwhelmed the Persian garrison and took Pharnabazus and some of the Chian pro-Persian leaders as prisoners. As had happened with Memnon previously, Hegelochos was aided by certain elements of the Chian population who had espoused the cause of Macedonia and secured the island's swift surrender (Arrian 3.2.3-7; Curtius 4. 5. 14-21).

It is clear from the narrative of the events that the Chians were not passive spectators of their island's troubles. The start of Alexander's campaign found them divided into factions

³⁸ Arrian, Diodorus, and Curtius, historians of Alexander's campaigns, give detailed accounts of the involvement of Chios in the events of the period (see the following discussion on the different stages in the conquest of Chios). Further information verifying or supplementing the literary sources is provided by Chian inscriptions recording the contents of two letters sent to the Chians by Alexander himself and dealing with various local (Chian) problems created after the island surrendered to him. (*Alexander's 1st Letter*: SIG 3. 283; *Alexander's 2nd Letter*: SEG 22 (1967), no. 506) A. J. Heisserer, *Alexander the Great and the Greeks, The Epigraphic evidence*, (University of Oklahoma, 1980), Chapter 3, pp. 79-95; chapter 4, pp. 96-111, provides a historical framework for the period relating to Alexander's letters to the Chians.

³⁹ The high office of Pharnabazus shows the importance the Persian Empire had attached to Chios at the time

supporting either Persia or Macedonia and fighting each other for the control of the government. The pro-Persians were identified with the local oligarchs who seem to have ruled Chios during most of the 4th century BC, while those in support of Alexander were democrats.⁴⁰

As we saw, the conflict between Macedonia and Persia bore a direct effect on the civil strife at Chios as in other Greek cities. Both factions aided their respective ally in their bid to take control of the city and as a result reaped the rewards of their collaboration. Evidently after Chios fell to Alexander, his allies, the democrats, would have been installed in power. This seems to be in line with certain measures, recorded in Alexander's letters to the Chians (see above), that he imposed upon them, such as the recalling of all exiled democrats by the previous regime and the drafting of a new set of laws in line with a democracy. The letters show that Alexander was personally involved in these measures, since the new 'constitution' of Chios was to be sent to him for approval (see Alexander's '1st letter to the Chians', lines 23-6) and punishment for the captured local oligarchs was meted out by him (see p. 57).

The Chians were ordered to contribute twenty fully manned war ships to Alexander's navy ('1st letter to the Chians', lines 32-4).⁴¹ Furthermore the intervention of Macedonia in the internal affairs of Chios may also have extended to the local coinage since the issue and circulation of Chian silver ceased in c 332 BC and was followed by the imposition locally of Alexander's own precious metal coinage.⁴² The adoption of this foreign coinage suggests that Chios may have been taxed by Alexander.

The fact that Alexander openly interfered in the internal affairs of Chios rather than relegate such matters to his newly installed regime is indicative of the fact that his local power

⁴⁰ G. W. Forrest, 'The tribal organisation of Chios', *ABSA* 55, (1960), pp. 181-7, pp. 180-181. It may be noted that a democracy was established at Chios in 394 BC but this seems to have been overthrown shortly afterwards.

⁴¹ It seems unlikely that the Chian crews saw any action since the entire Greek fleet was dissolved in 332 BC

⁴² On this subject see below the discussion in the chapters on bronze issues of Series 14 and 15 and civic type drachms of Series I.

base may not have been strong enough in 332 BC. The defeated oligarchs would still have commanded a large degree of influence over the population making an insurrection a possibility. This was probably the reason why Alexander installed a garrison at Chios following its surrender; ostensibly to keep the peace, but in reality to ensure that his orders were executed.⁴³ On this evidence we cannot speak of Chios as an independent or autonomous city-state after 332 BC.

Chian inscriptions dating in the 320's BC seem to reflect radical changes in the political and social structure (Zolotas, 1908, 205; Forrest, 1960, pp. 180-1). At the time, a large number of individuals appear to have enrolled in the traditional clans -previously reserved for a few families- and it is likely that this social reform commenced after 332 BC and was a consequence of the loss of power for the oligarchs.⁴⁴

I. 3. Chios and the early Hellenistic kingdoms: Nothing is recorded in ancient literary sources on Chios for more than a century, between c. 330 BC and the late 3rd century BC. Only epigraphic evidence offer us glimpses of the political condition at Chios, and possibly its involvement in events.⁴⁵ One of the inscriptions of this period is an honorary decree for a certain ΝΙΚΟΜΗΔΗΣ of Kos, adviser to Antigonos Monophthalmus, probably indicating that Chios may have come under the control of Antigonos following Alexander's death in 323

⁴³ According to Alexander's 1st Letter to the Chians, the garrison was to be posted on Chios until 'the locals had become reconciled with one another' (line 17). This garrison was withdrawn on orders of Alexander in 331 BC (Curtius 4. 8. 12), by which time it seems that the situation at Chios had become stable, and the Persian sympathisers dealt with.

⁴⁴ Forrest, *ibid*, describes the enlargement of the clans as a 'radical' reform and attributes it to the drawing up of a new democratic constitution at Chios after 332 BC.

⁴⁵ In this sense the study of the history of Chios presents us with similar problems as the study of the history of the Greek world in general, during the same period, where literary sources are scarce and we mainly rely on epigraphic evidence, see M. I. Rostovtzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, Vol. I-III, (Princeton, 1941), Vol. I, pp. 189-90. For a narrative of the developments in the Hellenistic world during this period see *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 323-217 BC, Vol. 71 (1984, Cambridge).

BC.⁴⁶ Antigonus Monophthalmus and his son Demetrius Poliorcetes are linked to the cessation of a number of civic coinages which may be the reason behind the continued absence of precious metal coinage at Chios in the quarter of century after Alexander's death.⁴⁷

Antigonus was killed at the battlefield of Ipsus in 301 BC and a large part of his empire in Asia Minor was seized by Lysimachus, another of Alexander's generals, who had founded a kingdom in Thrace. This ruler may have controlled Chios after 301 BC and the discovery on the island of an inscription honouring one of his generals seems to add weight to this view.⁴⁸ Lysimachus is thought to have been oppressive with his subjects in Ionia but it is far from clear if this would apply for Chios, if indeed he ruled over the island.⁴⁹

The available epigraphic and archaeological evidence suggests that Chios is likely to have recovered a degree of its independence after c 300 BC (see the chapter on the economy, pp. 627-8) even if it continued to be ruled by a foreign monarch. The early 3rd century BC saw the island's first precious metal issues in over half a century, and we also find some limited evidence of a recurrence of Chian trade overseas.⁵⁰ More importantly, inscriptions reveal that starting from the early 3rd century BC Chios began developing close economic and

⁴⁶ SEG 18, (1962), no 353, dated c 318-5 BC, where it is stated that this individual is unknown in literary sources but is honoured in decrees of various other cities that are known to have been subject to Antigonus. Further possible evidence on Antigonus's rule of Chios is suggested in Plutarch, *Symposium*, 11, 18. 633, where it is recorded that Antigonus executed a Chian sophist and opponent of Macedonia of the name Theokritos. This is seen by G. Dunst, 'Ein neues chiosches Dekret aus Cos', *Klio* 37, (1959), pp. 63-68, pp. 66-68 and Sarikakis, *ΧΙΑΚΗ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ* ('*Chian Prosopography*'), (Athens, 1989), p. 224 as evidence that Antigonus ruled over Chios at the time; it is possible however that Theokritos was arrested outside Chios.

⁴⁷ Greek civic issues discontinued under either Antigonus or Demetrius include those of Athens and Corinth, see O. Morkholm, *Early Hellenistic Coinage* (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 86-87. A number of mints on the island of Euboea were also closed by Antigonus, see W. P. Wallace, *The Euboian League and its Coinage*, ANS, NNM, 134, (New York, 1956), pp. 56-59 and Morkholm, 1991, p. 91; contra, T. R. Martin, *Sovereignty and Coinage in Classical Greece*, (Princeton, 1984), pp. 177-184, rejecting the idea that these rulers directly interfered with the issue of civic coinages attributing any cessations of such issues during this period to economic reasons.

⁴⁸ W. G. Forrest, 'Some inscriptions of Chios', *Horos* 3, (1985), pp. 95-104, no 1, pp. 95-97, an inscription honouring a general of Lysimachus presiding over the Ionian league. The inscription is dated c. 289 BC.

⁴⁹ For Lysimachus's oppressive policies in Ionia see J. Barron, *The Silver Coins of Samos*, London, 1966, p. 136.

⁵⁰ On the issue of the earliest Alexander and civic type silver coinages at Chios at the time see the discussion in the outline of the coinage. For the evidence on the resumption of trade see the chapter on the economy.

political relations with other Greek cities and states (for details of Chian foreign policy at the time see the discussion in pp. 23-24).

Lysimachus met with the same fate as Antigonus losing his life at the battle of Corupedium in 281 BC while fighting Seleukos I, another erstwhile general of Alexander and founder of the Seleucid kingdom ruling over Mesopotamia, Syria and eastern Asia Minor. Consequently Lysimachus's possessions in Asia Minor, presumably Chios among them, were seized by Seleukos. However this ruler was murdered less than a year after Corupedium and his empire plunged into political chaos. To make matters even worse, in the period 277-275 BC Asia Minor suffered a large scale invasion by Gauls who overran and destroyed many Greek cities before Antiochus I, successor of Seleucus, defeated them at Thyateira in 275 BC (Celtic Wars).⁵¹

We have some limited evidence linking cities of Ionia to events of the 270's BC, none of which throw any light on the situation in contemporary Chios. This also applies to Chian inscriptions dating to this general period and lacking any reference to events of the period. However numismatic studies show that Chios may have struck a joint coinage with Erythrae on at least two separate occasions during the early 3rd century BC. This would suggest that the island was probably directly involved with its neighbouring city in paying for common expenses. Erythrae is known to have played a significant role in the war against the Gauls and Dr. Kinns suggests that the money may have been struck in the context of this war, probably

⁵¹ For an outline of events in Asia Minor of the period see W. W. Tarn, *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. 7, (Cambridge, 1928), pp. 98-99, 701-704.

for hiring mercenaries as protection from the Gauls.⁵² In such a likelihood we should consider that Chios may not have been immune from the dangers facing Erythrae.⁵³

From the early 3rd century BC Egypt, under its new ruler Ptolemy II Philadelphus (284-247) became a major power in the Aegean region.⁵⁴ Ptolemy controlled a number of islands and sea ports leading some scholars in suggesting that Chios may have been part of this overseas network.⁵⁵ This is unlikely in light of the absence of any evidence supporting such a claim. Chian war ships are not recorded in the literary sources of the period as part of the Ptolemaic fleet at any time during the 3rd century BC, when Egypt was most active in the region, and likewise there is no reference to Chios being used as a base by the Ptolemies. A Chian inscription dating to the middle of the century and honouring an ambassador of Ptolemy II is no more than evidence that the two states had friendly relations and may have been allies.⁵⁶ As I discuss in the chapter on the economy, pp. 639-40, Chios acquired much of its wealth through trading with Egypt and this would have led the Chians to support politically the Ptolemaic kingdom over other Hellenistic monarchies in the region.

⁵² P. Kinns, *Studies in the Coinage of Ionia: Erythrae, Teos, Lebedus, Colophon, c. 400-30 BC*, Unpublished PhD thesis, (Cambridge, 1980), p. 448. An inscription from Erythrae and published by G. Zolotas, 'Χιακῶν καὶ Ερυθραϊκῶν Επιγραφῶν Συναγωγή' ('Unpublished inscriptions of Chios and Erythrae'), *Athena* 20, (1908), pp. 113-381 & 509-526, pp. 195-200, records the city's repulse of attacks by the Gauls, showing that Erythrae was directly involved in the Celtic Wars of 277-275 BC.

⁵³ R. Bauslaugh, 'The Posthumous Alexander Coinage of Chios', *ANSMN* 24, (1979), pp. 1-49, pl. 1-17, pp. 11-12, associates the earliest of the 'Posthumous Alexander' type coinage of Chios with the *political uncertainty* of the period. A link of these issues with the Celtic Wars in Asia Minor is suggested by M. J. Price, *The Coinage in the Name of Alexander the Great and Philip Arrhidaeus in the British Museum*, (London, 1991), p. 299.

⁵⁴ P. M. Frazer, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, Vol. I, 'Text', Oxford, 1972, p. 163.

⁵⁵ K. J. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1927), 4:2, p. 345, who states that Chios was under the control of Ptolemy II and E. Meyer, *Die Grenzen der Hellenistischen staaten in Kleinasien* (Leipzig, 1925), p. 93, who believes that this dominance continued under his successor, Ptolemy III. However D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, Vol. I-II, (Princeton, 1950), II, pp. 930-1, dismisses any claim that the rule of the Ptolemies extended to the north of Samos. Bauslaugh, *Posthumous Chian Alexanders*, pp. 20-21, also considers that the island was never under Ptolemaic control.

⁵⁶ Chios Archaeological Museum inv. no. 997. IG, XII 5, 6, no. 569, where the inscription is dated in the mid 3rd century; SEG, XIX, 569, has a proposed date in the first half of the century.

I. 4. Chios during the first half of the 3rd century BC: From the second quarter of the 3rd century the epigraphic material on Chios becomes plentiful and its study reveals that the island was probably free and autonomous, something of a rarity for most other Greeks at the time. Three Chian inscriptions, dating in the period 270-250 BC, of catalogues with names of individuals and cities, represent either foreign *proxenoi* resident at Chios, or Chian *proxenoi* abroad.⁵⁷ These catalogues pertain to the island's extensive political and economic relations with a large number of Greek cities,⁵⁸ most of which were within the sphere of influence of different Hellenistic powers, such as the Attalids, the Seleucids, Macedonia or the Ptolemies. It is likely on this evidence that Chios may have been pursuing an independent foreign policy in relation to the major powers of the period.

Another inscription of Chios, dating in general to the 3rd century BC, records the terms of a peace treaty between two cities of the Propontis, Lampsacus and Parium, that were involved in a dispute, and possibly even war.⁵⁹ Chios acted as arbiter between the two cities and it is interesting to note that one of these, Lampsacus, is represented in the 'proxenoi catalogues' at Chios. Chian traders are known to have been active in the Black Sea region during the first half of the 3rd century BC (see p. 630 of this study) probably helping to forge political links between their city and those of the region.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ J. Vanseveren, 'Inscriptions d' Amorgos et de Chios', RPh. 11, (1937), pp. 321-347, pp. 325-332, nos. 6, 6a, 6b. The inscriptions date between the early and mid 3rd century BC with the latest one, no. 6, dating according to Vanseveren in the 'mid 3rd century BC' (p. 327). Though one of these may include names of *Chian* *proxenoi* in foreign cities most of the names appearing in the other two inscriptions are of foreigners, resident at Chios. This is suggested by the fact that most names appearing next to a foreign ethnic are not known at Chios.

⁵⁸ Rostovtzeff, SEHWW, I, p. 245 & III, p. 1375, f. 74, comments that if these lists are the names of *proxenoi* at Chios then they testify to political, social and commercial relations between Chios and other Greek cities. For the economic significance of these inscriptions see the discussion in the chapter on the economy, p. 629.

⁵⁹ Vanseveren, 'Inscriptions de Chios', pp. 321-347, pp. 337-347, no. 10, dating to the 3rd century BC.

⁶⁰ Rhodes presents us with a clear case of a city in the Aegean that gained political influence in the Black Sea as a result of economic contacts. This is demonstrated by the siege of Sinope in 220 BC which managed to survive on aid sent by Rhodes (Polybius, 4. 56, 1-9), see R. Berthold, *Rhodes in the Hellenistic Age*, Cornell University Press, (N. York, 1984), pp. 94-6.

Inscriptions of Delos dating to the 3rd century BC honour a number of individual Chians, revealing the presence of an important community at Delos during the Hellenistic period.⁶¹ Two of these Chians at Delos, ΠΟΛΙΑΝΘΟΣ son of ΑΡΙΣΤΗΣ and ΦΙΛΙΣΤΟΣ son of ΦΙΛΙΣΤΟΣ, received honours that were exceptional and only awarded at the time to officials representing important states (IG XI. 4, 599, 2).⁶² However none of these Chians is honoured in the inscriptions as ambassador of a Hellenistic monarchy and it is likely that these honours may reflect close political ties between Chios and Delos.⁶³

As I discuss in the outline of the coinage, the issue of a large and plentiful precious metal coinage during the 3rd century may also be seen as evidence that Chios was not under foreign dominance at the time.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Since many of these individuals also had economic ties with Delos, I present and discuss the evidence provided from the inscriptions in the chapter on the economy, p. 628 & 638.

⁶² Both these Chians were awarded the usual privileges as other foreign ambassadors at Delos, such as proxeny, exemption from customs duties and the right to own landed property at Delos. However the Chians were also given citizenship -and in the case of ΦΙΛΙΣΤΟΣ even the right to enrol in any one of the local clans he wished, an honour very rarely offered to foreigners by Delos. G. Reger, *Regionalism and Change in the Economy of Independent Delos, 314-167 BC*, (California, 1994), pp. 70-1, states that the only other known individuals to have been honoured in this way were ambassadors of major Hellenistic monarchies and suggests that these Chians would also have been important political figures. As I discuss in the chapter on Series 17, ΠΟΛΙΑΝΘΟΣ is likely to have been the same as the namesake individual who signed a coin issue at Chios (discussed in pp. 144-5), and ΦΙΛΙΣΤΟΣ may be identified with a contemporary namesake (Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 455, no. 130; the name is very rare since Sarikakis records only these individuals bearing the name) who held a high magistracy at Chios during the middle of the 3rd century BC, a few years after his namesake Chian was honoured at Delos.

⁶³ See Reger, *ibid*, who discusses the honours bestowed upon these Chians at Delos in relation to a possible political link between Chios and Delos.

⁶⁴ This view was first recorded by Bauslaugh, *Posthumous Chian Alexanders*, in relation to the Alexander type coinage struck during this period by Chios; for the issue of civic type coinage at the time see below the discussion of Attic drachms of Series I-II and bronzes of Series 17.

I. 5. Chios during the second half of the 3rd century BC -Its membership of the Ruling

Council of the Delphic Amphictiony:

The middle of the 3rd century BC marks a new era in Chian foreign relations as documented in inscriptions. In 247/6 BC Chios was officially invited to become a member of the council of the Delphic Amphictiony with the right to vote on all resolutions taken by this political body. This event went unrecorded in literary sources and only became known from the discovery of a decree of Delphi preserving the text with the Chian acceptance of this position.⁶⁵ Further epigraphic discoveries revealed the names of Chian representatives to Delphi over a period of seventy years signaling the active participation of Chios in the workings of the council.⁶⁶ Another inscription is a decree of Chios giving recognition to an important festival held at Delphi, under the name of ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑ, under the auspices of the Aetolian League and pledging to send athletes and other participants to these games.⁶⁷ The decree is generally dated shortly after c 247 BC and is directly linked with the earlier acceptance of Chios as a member of the Council of the Delphic Amphictiony.⁶⁸

The Delphic Amphictiony was the most influential political organization in Greece during the Hellenistic period and only few cities or states were ever accepted as members of its ruling council. Since the 270's BC Delphi and its Amphictionic council was controlled by the Aetolian League and the council's resolution would have reflected Aetolian policies (Rostovtzeff, SEHWW, pp. 196-8). The Aetolians are known to have used the Delphic Amphictiony as a medium for spreading their influence in other regions during the 3rd century

⁶⁵ G. Daux, 'Chronologie Delphique' in *Fouilles Delphique*. III. 3 (Paris, 1943), no. 214, pp. 171-2.

⁶⁶ P. Amandry, 'Chios and Delphi' in *Chios: a Conference*, 1986, pp. 205-32, p. 221.

⁶⁷ Sylloge 3, 402, 2; L. Robert, 'Bulletin Epigraphique: Sur des Inscriptions de Chios', BCH 58, (1933), pp. 505-543, Pl. XXXII-XXXIII, pp. 536-7. For the latest discussion of this inscription see, *Translated documents of Greece and Rome*, Vol. 3, *The Hellenistic Age from the battle of Ipsus to the death of Cleopatra VII* edited and translated by S. M. Burstein, 1985, no. 62, pp. 84-5.

⁶⁸ The festival commemorated the victory of the Aetolian League over Gauls attacking Delphi in 277 BC; as such the festival would have been very much a show of propaganda for Aetolian power and those granting recognition to it would have been friendly and subject states of the Aetolians.

BC, mostly in the Aegean. This was mainly achieved by supporting the inviolability of a local sanctuary ('*asylia*') of a city, which would in some cases be extended to cover the entire region of the city, and thus offering a guarantee of immunity from attacks of other cities and states associated with the Aetolian League (Rostovtzeff, 1941, pp. 197-201).; more importantly, this immunity also covered the bands of pirates that infested the Aegean and were controlled by Aetolia (p. 196, 198). Chios however is unique among these cities since the Aetolians not only gave the city a safety guarantee but went further in offering it a permanent place on the council of the Delphic Amphictiony, a policy which was exceptional (P. Amandry, 1986, p. 220).⁶⁹

There can be little doubt that Chios was given this high privilege because it would have been free at the time from the rule of any major Hellenistic power. I doubt that the Aetolians would have invited Chios to join the council had there been any hint that this city would have been serving the interests of a Hellenistic power and therefore could have created a future problem for the Aetolians who were at the time pursuing an independent foreign policy vis a vis the major powers. P. Amandry (1986, p. 220) also considers this choice to have been influenced by local factors such as the island's wealth, powerful navy and proximity to the coast of Asia Minor. Having Chios as an ally would have been instrumental in any ambitions the Aetolians might have had in the Aegean.⁷⁰

Chios made full use of its role in the Delphic Amphictiony by sending representatives, known as *ΙΕΡΟΜΝΗΜΟΝΕΣ*, to each annual session of the council.⁷¹ During the late 3rd century

⁶⁹ It may be noted that only three other cities and states, Cephallenia, the Athamanians and Magnesia on the Meander, were given a vote in the council of the Delphic Amphictiony at the time when the Aetolians were in control. These seem to have been temporary acts since none of these states retained the vote for a long time, as in the case for Chios, and even then, they were not represented in the meetings of the council as regularly as Chios

⁷⁰ Aetolian ambitions in the Aegean and Asia Minor may also have influenced the decision to elect temporarily Magnesia on the Meander on the council of the Delphic Amphictiony at the end of the 3rd century BC. Chios however was the only permanent member to join the council throughout the period it was run by Aetolia.

⁷¹ P. Amandry, 1986, p. 221, states that a Chian is always recorded in all the complete lists that have survived with the names of *ιερομνημονες* for the period 246-191 BC.

BC some of these Chian ambassadors may have played an important role in international diplomacy. A Chian embassy, together with one from Rhodes tried in 218 BC, to negotiate a peace settlement between the Aetolians and Philip V, fighting the *Social War* of 220-18 BC (Polybius, 5.24.11, 28.1-3, 29.3-4). The next year another Chian embassy -this time joined by embassies from Byzantium, Egypt, and Rhodes- made another attempt to arbitrate between Aetolia and Macedon (Polybius, 5.100.9-11, 102.2-4). A decade later, during the 1st Macedonian War (211-206 BC), Chian ambassadors, alongside embassies from Rhodes, Athens and Egypt, were once more arbitrating between Philip V and the Aetolians (Livy, 27.30.4-6, 10-14; Polybius, 10.25.1-5.).⁷² No Chian embassy is recorded for a similar arbitration which took place in 208 BC (Livy, 28. 7.13-15) but Berthold (1984, p. 104, n. 6) argues for continued Chian participation in these negotiations. In 207 BC Chians seem to have attended two meetings between delegates of a few Greek cities and representatives of the Aetolians to try to persuade the latter to put an end to their war with Macedon. It also seems that the Chians were part of the embassy of Greek states that tried to negotiate an end to Philip's campaign of 202 BC against cities in the Aegean region (see the discussion in pp. 28-9).⁷³

There can be little doubt that the elevation of Chios into the foreground of international diplomacy and politics was not so much the result of its own status within the Hellenistic world but emanated from its place in the council of the Delphic Amphictiony. It is almost certain that Chios would have acted within this framework and its various diplomatic missions would have comprised mostly of its representatives at Delphi. This is to a degree

⁷² A Chian ambassador Nikostratos son of Demetrius who died in Alexandria in 209 BC may have been a member of the embassy arbitrating between the major Hellenistic powers during that year. A funeral urn inscribed with his name was found in Alexandria and published by E Ronne and P. M. Frazer, 'A Hadra-vase in the Ashmolean Museum', JEA 39, (1953), 'The Inscriptions', pp. 86-94.

⁷³ No cities are named in these embassies by Polybius in 15. 23. 6, but McShane *The Foreign Policy of the Attalids*, (Urbana, 1964), p. 120, considers the cities to be the same as in earlier embassies to Philip, leading Bauslaugh, *Posthumous Chian Alexanders*, p. 28, f. 42, to suggest that Chios was part of the embassy

suggested by the fact that Chian representatives for the last two decades of the 3rd century BC were given exceptional honours at Delphi, in contrast to those of the previous three decades that were merely honoured with an inscription.⁷⁴ In one such decree a Chian representative (ΕΡΜΟΚΛΗΣ son of ΦΑΙΝΟΜΕΝΟΣ) is acknowledged as contributing '*for the freedom of Greece*', a possible reference to his participation in one or more embassies during the late 3rd century (F.Delph. iii, 3, p. 195).

The increased importance of Chios within the Delphic Amphictiony may also have left its mark on the island's coinage. As I discuss in pp. 151-5, during the late 3rd century BC Chios used the tripod symbol as its official countermark on the coinage. This is not one of the island's own emblems, but of Delphi, and probably alludes to the important link existing at the time between Chios and the Delphic Amphictiony.

I. 6. Chios and the 2nd Macedonian War (202-197 BC):

In 203 BC Philip V of Macedonia and Antiochus III of the Seleucid Empire formed a secret pact with the objective at first of seizing all overseas possessions of Ptolemy V and then invading Egypt and dissolving the Ptolemaic kingdom. The alliance was bound to overturn the political status quo of the Hellenistic world that was created in the aftermath of the battle at Ipsus, almost a century earlier.⁷⁵ The following year Philip began attacking cities in the northern Aegean under Ptolemaic rule, according to the pre-arranged plan with Antiochus.⁷⁶

Rhodes and Pergamum felt threatened by Philip's attacks and sent embassies to negotiate a settlement with him. Chios is also likely to have been represented in these

⁷⁴ P. Amandry, 1986, p. 223, quoting Homolle, BCH 20 (1896), p. 630 and M. Holleaux, 'L'Expedition de Philippe V en Asie' in *Etudes d'Epigraphique et d'Histoire Grecques*, Vol. IV, pp. 211-335, (Paris, 1952), pp. 309-10, 331-2.

⁷⁵ On the 'alliance' of 203 BC between Macedonia and the Seleucides, see R. M. Errington, 'The Second Macedonian War', in *The Cambridge Ancient History, Rome and the Mediterranean to 133 BC*, Vol. VIII, 2nd edition, pp. 244-74.

⁷⁶ For what follows see F. W. Walbank, *Philip V of Macedon*, (Cambridge, 1940), pp. 114-6.

embassies, indicating that Philip's actions in the region would also have been damaging Chian interests (Bauslaugh, *Posthumous Chian Alexanders*, p. 28, f. 42). The embassies failed to stop Philip and full scale war broke out between him and a coalition of Greek cities and states which included Athens, Egypt, Pergamum, Rhodes and Chios (2nd Macedonian war). This alliance was eventually joined in 200 BC by Rome which brought an end to the war by defeating Philip at the battle of Kynoskefalae in 197 BC.

At the start of the 2nd Macedonian war Chios had already been close politically to Rhodes judging from its participation in common embassies with this city during the previous two decades. The island as we will see had also developed close political and economic ties with the Attalids of Pergamum. It is thought that Chios may have been in a position to help forge the Pergamene-Rhodian alliance against Philip when it became clear that diplomacy could not stop his war mongering. This is what may have provoked Philip to attack Chios and lay siege to the city in 201 BC.⁷⁷ The Chians showed determined resistance and Philip was unable to conquer the city.⁷⁸ While Chios was blockaded, the allied Rhodian and Pergamene navies fought a battle with the Macedonian navy off the island's eastern coast, obviously in an attempt to provision the city (Polybius III.3.2, XVI.2.9.).⁷⁹

Epigraphic and numismatic finds at Chios may be linked to the war against Philip. Three published fractions from two different inscriptions record the names of Chians contributing money for the rebuilding of the city walls. These catalogues are dated to the late

⁷⁷ See Sarikakis, 1975, pp. 352-6, for a detailed discussion of the Chian initiatives during this period. The idea that Chios may have played a role in bringing together Rhodes and Pergamum was considered by Sarikakis.

⁷⁸ This is the only event of the 3rd century occurring at Chios to have been recorded in ancient literary sources, see Polybius, XVI. 2.1. For events of the siege of Chios by Philip V, see Walbank, 1940, p. 121. Maurogordato, 1916, p. 297, states that Philip conquered Chios, based on the wrong assumption by Appian in *Macedonian Wars*, 4, 1; this is rejected by all modern scholars. See on this topic, Walbank, 1940, p. 121, n. 2; Magie, 1950, p. 944, n. 42; Sarikakis, 1975, p. 353, n. 3; Bauslaugh, *Posthumous Chian Alexanders*, p. 28, n. 44, who state that all other literary evidence makes it clear that Philip failed to conquer Chios.

⁷⁹ Bauslaugh, *Posthumous Chian Alexanders*, p. 28, suggests that this naval battle may have forced Philip to abandon his siege of Chios.

3rd century BC⁸⁰ and it is obvious from the context of the heading which survives from one of the inscriptions that this was no ordinary measure but made under an immediate threat to the safety to the city.⁸¹ Attalus I of Pergamum also offered money to Chios towards the repairing of the city walls. His donation is inscribed in a different inscription to those bearing the names of Chian subscribers but it would seem that all these inscriptions would date to the same period.⁸² The ensuing attack by Philip in 202/1 BC is the most likely event that would have caused subscriptions for improving the defense of the city of Chios.

A large issue of Posthumous Alexander type tetradrachms by Chios has also been associated with the war against Philip,⁸³ and this event may also have had a limited effect on

⁸⁰ Zolotas, 1908, p. 163; Vanseveren, 'Inscriptions de Chios', pp. 323-4; Rostovtzeff, SEHHW, Vol. III, p. 1464.

⁸¹ The translation of the heading of the largest fragment reads:

'The following individuals wishing to live in a free and autonomous state of their own will have promised to make donations in money and have contributed for the rebuilding of the city walls in accordance to the motion passed on what has been stated by the magistrates.' (my translation). It is clear from this that the contribution was taken in anticipation of imminent danger to the city by a foreign power. Nearly all modern scholars who discuss these inscriptions -Zolotas, 1908, p. 163; Vanseveren, 'Inscriptions de Chios', pp. 323-4; Rostovtzeff, SEHHW, p. 1464; and all later scholars- agree that the most likely event that caused these subscriptions would have been the participation of Chios in the 1st Macedonian war and the siege of the city by Philip V in 201 BC. A decade later, in 192-189 BC, Chios took part in the war against Antiochus III but the city of Chios was never in any serious danger from Antiochus (see the following discussion). Note also that a similar inscription from Cos (PH10, GIBM 343) of names of individuals contributing money 'for the common security' is also dated to the end of the 3rd century BC and possibly linked to the 2nd Macedonian War; see S. M. Sherwin-White, *Ancient Cos: An historical study from the Dorian settlement to the Imperial Period*, Hypomnemata 51, (Gottingen, 1978), pp. 179-180, and pp. 214-220

⁸² First published by G. Zolotas, 1908, pp. 163-189. The inscription records sums of money paid as rents of land on the island of Chios, which was owned by Attalus who redistributed it for various projects in the city of Chios. Nearly all scholars and epigraphists who have studied the inscription agree that this ruler would have been Attalus I, who reigned at Pergamum between 246 and 197 BC. See Zolotas, 1908, p. 167; Rostovtzeff, SEHHW, p. 804 and p. 1464, f. 22; see also his references in p. 1474, f. 50, p. 1520, f. 73 ; L. Robert, *Etudes Epigraphiques et Philologiques*, (Paris, 1938), p. 85; Forrest, 1960, p. 175; Sarikakis, 1975, p. 354. Only Magie, 1950, Vol. II, p. 891, f. 97, and J. Schalles, *Untersuchungen zur Kulturpolitik der Pergamenischer Herrscher im dritten Jahrhundert von Christus*, *Istanbuler Forschungen*, 36, (Tubingen, 1985), argue for a later Pergamene ruler bearing this name (Attalus II or III). Magie does not produce any evidence in support of this identification, but Schalles proposed a mid 2nd century BC date on the appearance in this inscription of the letter form *alpha* A with a broken middle bar since he claims that Chios only started using this letter form during that period. Obviously he was not aware that Chian Alexander type tetradrachms of Bauslaugh, Period 3, dating c 202-190 BC (Price proposed a date for these issues in 210-190 BC) make extensive use of this letter form in their legends. As I discuss in this study (p. 218) the letter form *alpha* with a broken middle bar was used at Chios in inscriptions and coins dating to the late 3rd century and early 2nd century BC; it was then dropped, only to reappear in the course of the 1st century BC (see p. 330 of the present study).

⁸³ Bauslaugh, *Posthumous Chian Alexanders*, pp. 21-9, Period 3, considers that this coinage was issued to meet expenses of the 2nd Macedonian war and was struck in the same context as a large contemporary Alexander type coinage struck by Rhodes. See also M. H. Crawford, *Coinage and Money under the Roman Republic*, (London, 1985), p. 154, who associates some Chian tetradrachms, presumably of this coinage, with the war against Philip.

the civic type coinage.⁸⁴ A hoard of Ptolemaic silver coinage found at Chios and dating c 200 BC⁸⁵ possibly represents part of aid that Egypt may have sent to Chios at the time of their common war against Philip V in 202-200 BC. The hoard seems to be unique in the Aegean region and may therefore have entered Chios as a direct consequence of political events, rather than economic activities.⁸⁶ The Ptolemaic standard of these coins is incompatible with the Attic used at Chios during the 3rd century BC, and therefore the coins are unlikely to have circulated on the island at the time.⁸⁷ The same explanation seems also to apply for a large bronze coin of Ptolemy II that was found in the town of Chios and did not fit with the standard of the local bronze.⁸⁸

Plutarch records that during the siege of Chios Philip tried to incite the slaves of the Chians to revolt but with no apparent success.⁸⁹ However scholars in recent years have suggested that a slave revolt at Chios, of which only random references have survived in ancient literary sources, may be placed sometime during the 3rd century BC.⁹⁰ This event

⁸⁴ Some of the many hoards composed exclusively of bronze issues referred to in the outline of the coinage may have been deposited as a result of the siege of 201 BC. As I discuss in p. 154, the fact that many of these coins also seem to have been countermarked at the time may be a sign of a crisis, probably the war against Macedonia.

⁸⁵ First reported by A. P. Stephanou in 'Χιόκη' Επιθεωρήσεις', (Chios, 1965), pp. 130-1, but never properly published. (Coin hoards V, no. 340, is only a summary of this report). Stephanou recorded 2 tetradrachms and 12 didrachms ranging from Ptolemy III to IV, but Dr Kinns who has studied the hoard in the Archaeological Museum at Chios -and has kindly given me his notes on the coins- identified a few of the coins as belonging to the reign of Ptolemy V. It is on the latter's evidence that I have suggested a date for the deposit of the hoard. This important numismatic find is in storage in the Archaeological Museum of Chios and still awaits publication.

⁸⁶ It is also less likely that this money may represent the fortune of a Chian who had worked or traded in Egypt.

⁸⁷ For the use of the Attic weight standard at Chios during this period, see p. 657 in this study. T. Sarikakis, 'Οι εν Χίῳ παρεπιδημοῦντες Ρωμαῖοι', (Chios Chronika 7, (1975), pp. 14-27, p. 27, f. 35, identifies on epigraphic evidence the standard used at Chios during the early 2nd century BC as that of Ptolemaic Egypt. This is wrong since it originates from his interpretation of ΔΡΑΧΜΑΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑΣ in a Chian inscription from this period as *drachms of Alexandria (Egypt)* while the correct term is *Alexander type drachms*; the latter was an issue commonly struck during the Hellenistic period by Chios (see pp. 82-3).

⁸⁸ Coin collection of the High School and Lyceum of the town of Chios, no. 13. This find was made by a schoolboy in the environs of the modern town of Chios.

⁸⁹ He promised them their masters' womenfolk after he had conquered the city, Plutarch *On Virtues of Women*, 3.

⁹⁰ According to Athenaeus, VI, 265b-266f, slaves at Chios staged a revolt against their masters and, under the leadership of one of their own named Drimakos, established themselves at the remotest parts of mount Aipos from where they repeatedly raided the city of Chios. The chronology of this obscure event is vague but a date during the 3rd century BC is likely since Athenaeus gives as source for this story the lost work *Periplus of Asia* by Nymphodoros of Syracuse, who lived during the 3rd century BC and is thought to have recorded mostly events of his time. See A. Fuks, 'Slave war and slave troubles in Chios in the Third Century BC', *Athenaeum* 46, (1968), pp. 102-11, pp. 105-7, with all earlier bibliography on this subject. For archaeological discoveries at

lacks a firm date, and therefore a link with the siege of Chios in 201 BC is far from certain. However, it offers a good context for placing chronologically the slave uprising during that period, if we also take into account Philip's proclamation of the emancipation of the slaves coinciding with his siege of the city.

I. 7. Chios during the 2nd century BC: Less than a decade after the end of the war with Philip, Chios was once again involved in a war against a leading Hellenistic monarch, this time Antiochus III of the Seleucid Empire (the 'Antiochic War', 193-188 BC). The island was used as the main supply line and base for the Roman navy fighting Antiochus in the Aegean; a repeat of the role it played for the combined fleets of Pergamum and Rhodes during the 2nd Macedonian War (Livy XXXVII, 27, 4-6; Sarikakis, 1975, p. 355). There is no record of Chian participation in any of the campaigns and we may assume that the island was spared the worst atrocities of this war (Livy, XXXVI, 42.43, 11&45, 7; XXXVII, 27, 1-2, 4-6 & 31, 5-7&41, 2-3&45, 7).⁹¹ Eventually Antiochus was defeated and Chios had once more backed the victorious side. This time however the spoils were great and the allies that fought Antiochus were amply rewarded with the peace signed at Apamea (188 BC).

For its part in the war Chios received territories, presumably in Asia Minor (Polybius, XXI, 46, 6 and Livy, XXXVIII 39, 11),⁹² had its status as a free city reaffirmed,⁹³ and

Aipos of the Hellenistic period that might be associated with the slave uprising see V. Lambrinoudakis, 'Ancient Farmhouses on Mount Aipos', published in Chios, *A Conference*, 1986, pp. 295-304.

⁹¹ The only consequence of the war on the island seems to have been a raid by pirates in the pay of Antiochus and headed by one of his admirals. The small number of ships involved -fifteen- and the fact that the city was not attacked suggests that it would have been a small scale raid. Livy discusses the use of Chian facilities by the Roman navy operating in the Aegean Sea during 191-190 BC and goes as far as to call the island the *granary* of the Roman navy. On the contribution of Chios to the Roman war effort see also the discussion below of the inscription honouring a pro-Roman local politician. Both Bauslaugh and Price suggest that part of the issue of 'Bauslaugh, Period 3' may have continued to be struck after c. 200 BC, to cover expenses of the Antiochic War.

⁹² The sources do not mention where these territorial acquisitions were made but almost certainly would have been in the region of Atarneia, known as the *Chian Peraia*; see Maurogordato, 1916, p. 297. Sarikakis, 1975, p. 356, includes all modern references to this Chian acquisition. See also the chapter on the economy, pp. 640-1. where I discuss likely economic consequences for Chios after acquiring territory in Asia Minor.

declared immune from taxation by a foreign power. Most importantly the city was officially declared a ‘friend and ally’ of Rome, a title that will weigh heavily from now onwards in its history.

A famous Chian inscription honours a local dignitary who undertook various initiatives in support of the Romans during the war and proved instrumental in forging close ties between Rome and Chios.⁹⁴ Among other things he provided wine for the Roman stationed at Chios during the war (lines 3-4), and also acted as a host for an official Roman delegation at Chios (lines 12, 19-20). He visited Rome (lines 4-5), probably as member of the Chian delegation that discussed with the Senate terms of the peace ahead of the signing of the treaty at Apamea (Sarikakis, 1975, p. 17). Upon his return to Chios he paid for a dedication to the goddess Roma inscribed with the legend of Romulus and Remus (lines 22-29). He also organized local games honouring the Romans and awarded the victors prize weapons inscribed with scenes from Roman legends (lines 29-31).

The inscription reflects the attitude of an individual Chian from the upper-class towards Rome in the early 2nd century BC but his actions were certainly sanctioned or even supported by the Chian government. The emergence of the cult of Roma at Chios parallel with

⁹³ S. R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power of the Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor*, (1984), p. 41, wrongly assumes that Chios was freed from the rule of Antiochus III and stopped paying him tribute as a result of the Peace at Apamea. There is no evidence that Chios was under Seleucid control during the 190s or at any time during the 3rd century BC. The city was certainly free when it resisted the attack by Philip V in 201 BC and there is no reference that Antiochus ever captured in the decade following Philip’s siege. Obviously Price confused Chios with other cities, already occupied by Antiochus, that gained their freedom through the Apamea Peace

⁹⁴ N. M. Kontoleon, ‘Zu den literarischen αναγραφαι’ *Akte des IV International Kongresses fur Griech. und Latein. Epigraphic*, (Wien, 1962, publ. 1964), pp. 192-201; Sarikakis, 1975, pp. 14-27; W. G. Forrest and P. S. Dewing, ‘An inscription from Chios’, *ABSA* 77, (1982), pp. 79-92. The inscription is also discussed in many other works dealing in general with the Roman presence in the East during the Hellenistic period. Most scholars believe that the war referred to in line 3 must be the Antiochic war; only Forrest and Mathews on epigraphic grounds suggest an earlier war, the 1st Illyrian War (228-225 BC). Though the letter forms seem to agree with a 3rd century BC date, the contents of the inscription seem to favour a date after the battle of Magnesia in 190 BC. Lines 22-23 mention a cult of the goddess Roma as already established on Chios which could hardly date before c 190 BC when the cult of this deity became established in Greek cities. Smyrna is the earliest city with a cult of Roma dating shortly after c 190 BC; on this topic, see Mellor, *Worship of Roma in the Greek World*, Gottingen, 1975, pp. 60-61, who plausibly claims that Chios could hardly have been in a position to arbitrate between Philip V and the Aetolian-Roman alliance in 207 BC with an established cult of Roma on the island at the time.

the founding of games honouring Rome reveals that the state was actively involved in cultivating a pro-Roman attitude at Chios. As such the inscription is also testament to Rome's growing influence within the individual Greek communities after Apamea (S. Price, 1984, pp. 40-42).

The meager information on Chios from literary sources at the beginning of the 2nd century BC seems to run out after 188 BC, making Koraes declare that: *it is as if (Chios) disappears from the face of the earth during the Second Century BC*. (Koraes, *Atakta*, p. 67). From this period down to the early 1st century BC only a single literary reference to Chios survives, recording that the Chians refused to allow the Macedonian navy to dock at their island during the war between Perseus and the Romans (3rd Macedonian War, see Livy XLIV, 28, 7-16; Sarikakis, 1975, p. 356).⁹⁵ Archaeology has also failed to provide us with any substantial remains on Chios which can be securely dated to this period and thus attest to an acquired prosperity in the later Hellenistic period. Finally inscriptions, those invaluable sources of information in earlier periods for the history of Chios, are few for the period under study and of lesser importance than the previous century.

It is possible however to speculate on the course Chios may have taken during the 2nd century BC. The consolidation of Roman dominance in the Eastern Mediterranean during the first half of the 2nd century BC must have benefited Chios, a small state that retained its loyalty to Rome⁹⁶ and which would never have been in a position to pose a threat to Roman interests in the region as was the case for Rhodes.⁹⁷ Events of the period, such as the

⁹⁵ This event shows that Chios continued to support Rome in the period after Apamea, though this is likely to have been the result of Chian *real politique* than loyalty to Rome.

⁹⁶ This is inferred from what little information we have about the island during the 2nd century BC, notably the stance taken by Chios during the 3rd Macedonian War (see the previous footnote). It is true that Chios sided with Mithridates VI in 89-87 BC against Rome, but as I discuss below, the Chians may have been forced into this alliance against their will.

⁹⁷ On the gradual dominance of Rome in the Hellenistic World during the first half of the 2nd century BC see the opening statement in Polybius Histories, I, i. Rhodian loyalty towards Rome seems to have been wavering during

declaration of Delos as a free trading port in 167-166 BC, which broke the grip of Rhodes on international trade, and the destruction of Corinth in 146 BC, are unlikely to have damaged Chian interests; on the contrary, as I discuss in pp. 637-8, Chios would have directly benefited from the misfortunes that Rome caused to two other Greek cities.⁹⁸

The creation of the Roman province of Asia (133 BC) certainly did not affect the status of Chios, since the province was made up of the territory under the rule of Attalus III, last king of Pergamum.⁹⁹ The province seems to have brought Chios into close contact with Roman and Italian businessmen who were attracted to Asia by the opportunities afforded to them from political developments in Asia Minor. Some of these established residence at Chios and were involved in the wine trade or purchased land on the island and turned to agriculture.¹⁰⁰

Very little is known on the early period of the Roman community at Chios and the complete absence of any Roman names in Chian inscriptions prior to the 1st century BC is suggestive of the fact that the Roman residents at Chios would have been rather few during the 2nd century BC. Since sources reveal that a large Roman community was already established at Chios on the eve of the 1st Mithridatic War (in 89 BC, see p. 37) we may

the course of the 2nd century BC, since a number of prominent Rhodians are known to have offered open support to Perseus in his war against Rome, see Polybius, XXVIII, 12, 3.

⁹⁸ Bauslaugh, *Posthumous Chian Alexanders*, pp. 36-37, believes that after Delos was established as a free trading centre Chios may have suffered an economic decline, p. 36: '*Rhodes suffered a substantial loss of revenue* (note: from the establishment of Delos as a free port); *and the impact of the new economic order must have been felt by smaller commercial states such as Chios*'. I disagree with this theory, and claim in the chapter on the economy, pp. 637, that the opposite would have happened for Chios.

⁹⁹ V. Chapot, *La Province Romaine Proconsulaire d'Asie*, (Paris, 1904), p. 82, states that Chios was part of the province of Asia during the late 2nd century BC. This however is wrong for Chios was free and never part of the Pergamene kingdom. The island's freedom was guaranteed by the Apamea treaty and this is also suggested by the absence of issues of the *stephaneforus* type by the Chian mint during the 2nd century BC. The inscription recording donations of Attalus I to the city of Chios from rents of land (see above) implies that there were Pergamene royal estates on the island, but not that the island was ruled by the Attalides. We know for example, that Perseus, king of Macedonia, owned estates at Cos without this island ever being under his control; see, Sherwin-White, *Cos*, p. 134.

¹⁰⁰ See A. J. Wilson, *Emigration from Italy in the Republican Age of Rome*, (Manchester, 1966), p. 94; Sarikakis, 1975, pp. 360-1. Appian, *Mithridatic Wars*, 47, refers to the presence of a large number of Roman landowners at Chios in c 86 BC. In the chapter on the economy, pp. 641-2, I discuss the importance of the Roman residents for the economy of Chios.

assume that the greatest numbers would have arrived at the island after the creation of the province of Asia.

I.8. Chios and the 1st Mithridatic War: It is only as a result of the 1st Mithridatic War (88-85 BC) that ancient historians throw light on events involving Chios. The Chians took part in various stages of this war eventually leading up to the destruction of their city and their banishment to Pontus. These calamities had a profound affect on the society, economy, and even the coinage, and I discuss the repercussions in these different fields separately in the relevant chapters. Here I will present an outline of the island's involvement in the war.

When Mithridates declared war on Rome in 88 BC and began attacking its Eastern possessions paradoxically Chios is named as one of his allies and the island's war ships participated in Mithridates's siege of Rhodes during that year (Appian, *Mithridatic Wars*, 25-26). Since we lack any literary evidence for the island during the second half of the 2nd century BC we cannot ascertain the reasons why the Chians joined in alliance with Mithridates against Rome.¹⁰¹ A local inscription recording athletic victories of a certain king Mithridates at Chios -who may have been the father of Mithridates VI¹⁰² - is considered by Sarikakis (1975, p. 362) as evidence of Pontic influence at Chios. The fact also that one of the wives of Mithridates was a Chian native (Plutarch, *Life of Lucullus*, 18, 3) may also have played a role in further strengthening this influence.

¹⁰¹ The island of Cos furnishes another example of a city that was a staunch ally of Rome during the Antiochic and 3rd Macedonian Wars but which was also allied to Mithridates at the beginning of his war against Rome; Sherwin-White, *Cos*, pp. 138-139. As with Chios, virtually nothing is recorded about Cos in literary sources of the second half of the 2nd century BC and we have no idea on the cause that may have driven its people and government against Rome.

¹⁰² The name was once identified as that of Mithridates VI, see M. Segre, 'Mitridate e Chios', *Il Mondo Classico* 2 (1932), p. 132. However L. Robert, 'Bulletin Epigraphique: Sur des Inscriptions de Chios', *BCH* 60, 1935, pp. 453-470, p. 453, rejects this identification and suggests Mithridates V; this is accepted by both Rostovtzeff, *SEHWW*, Vol. III, p. 1531, f. 111 and Sarikakis, 1975, p. 362, n. 6.

It is also likely that the Chians may have also felt threatened by the increasing number of Romans settling on their island and appropriating part of the island's financial resources.¹⁰³ An inscription dating to a slightly later period seems to allude to an uneasy coexistence between Chians and Roman residents (Syll. 3 785, 2; W. G. Forrest, SEG 22, (1967), no. 507);¹⁰⁴ though these difficulties seem to have risen as a consequence of the war it is likely that they may also have reflected to some degree the pre-existing situation.¹⁰⁵ Nevertheless Chios was one of the few regions in the East to evacuate to safety all of its Roman residents, in deference to orders by Mithridates to execute all of them (Appian, IV. 22), showing that whatever else the Chians might have thought of their Roman neighbours, they were not possessed by strong negative feelings against them -in contrast to the Greeks in Asia Minor. Probably this was because the Chians did not pay taxes to Rome and therefore Roman tax farmers were not settled at Chios.

Regardless of the reasons that drove the Chians to become allies of Mithridates it would seem from Appian's narrative of the war that they may have quickly come to regret this move.¹⁰⁶ Though nominally allied to Mithridates they seem to have acted independently by

¹⁰³ During the 2nd century BC Roman rule in Greece backed the local ruling classes against the poor. Consequently the anti Roman sentiments also reflected local political tensions. There is no evidence from contemporary Chian society of the eruption of a class struggle, but it is likely that Chios may have sided with Mithridates against Rome following a change in the regime. This was exactly what happened at Athens, an erstwhile ally of Rome, see J. Day, *An economic history of Athens under Roman domination*, (Columbia University, 1942), p. 29. For a general discussion of intercity class struggles in the Greek world during the 2nd century BC involving Rome see Elizabeth Rawson, 'The expansion of Rome', pp. 417-437, pp. 430-433, in *The Oxford History of the Classical World*, Oxford, 1993, J. Boardman, J. Griffin, O. Murray (eds.)

¹⁰⁴ This is the most famous and quoted of all Chian inscriptions from the Roman Imperial period; for a detailed discussion within the historical context to the period see R. Sherk *Roman Documents from the Greek East, Senatus Consulta and Epistulae to the Age of Augustus*, (Baltimore, 1969), no. 70, pp. 351-3; A. Marshall, 'Romans under Chian law', GRBS 10 (1971), pp. 255-271. The inscription is also referred to in a large number of publications dealing with aspects of Roman rule of the Eastern provinces during the reign of Augustus, see Sherk, 1969, p. 351 and Marshall, 1971, p. 255, for a list of the extensive bibliography.

¹⁰⁵ Marshall, 1971, pp. 263-266, considers the dispute to have risen as the result of changes in the ownership of land at Chios during and after the 1st Mithridatic War. This seems to imply that some differences on the status of land property may have previously existed.

¹⁰⁶ B. McGing, 'The foreign policy of Mithridates VI Eupator, King of Pontus', (Leiden, 1986), p. 111, considers that this reluctance on the part of the Chians towards Mithridates is probably a sign that they may have resisted him at the start of the war. Though this seems plausible we have no such indication from the literary sources.

disobeying his orders or even colliding with the Romans.¹⁰⁷ Mithridates was certainly no fool, and he realized that the Chians were biding for their time waiting for the chance to return to the Roman fold.¹⁰⁸

In 86 BC he dispatched a force under his general Zenobius who easily gained access into the city, occupied it and seized a large number of hostages.¹⁰⁹ By holding these hostages Zenobius managed to force the rest of the population into the city's theater where a letter of Mithridates was read out brandishing the Chians as traitors and demanding they pay the immense sum of two thousand talents as ransom for the hostages and punishment for their betrayal. The money was collected with great difficulty but when it was delivered, Zenobius weighed it in public and found it to be on a *lower standard*, than he had expected.¹¹⁰ As punishment the entire Chian population was forced to board ships under guard to be banished to the Black Sea; presumably they had been singled out as slave labour in Mithridates's war effort. However on their way there the ships were seized by the navy of Ponto-Heracleia who

¹⁰⁷ We are specifically told that certain Chians fled to the Roman army stationed at the time in mainland Greece. Appian, *Mithridatic Wars*, 46. Sarikakis, 1975, p. 363, believes that this would only have been possible with the connivance of the authorities at Chios. Indeed this is inferred from Appian, 47, 9-13, where Mithridates directly accuses the Chians of having sent secretly some of their chief men to negotiate with Sulla, even though they were still his allies at the time; this however was vigorously denied by the Chians. Nevertheless there is further indication that the Chians may not have been wholeheartedly supporting Mithridates; as we saw the island was one of the few places in Asia Minor to allow the escape of its Roman residents directly contravening orders by Mithridates to kill them or hand them over to him. All of these events occurred at the start of the war in 88 BC while the Chian navy was participating in Mithridate's naval blockade and siege Rhodes. Mysteriously during this event a Chian galley rammed Mithridates's flag ship and nearly sunk it, when the king himself had boarded it. For Mithridates, who had direct knowledge of the pro-Roman activities at Chios (as revealed in his letter to the Chian demos), this was treated as a deliberate attempt on his life. He punished the captain and the pilot of the Chian ship and decided to address the Chian 'problem' by dispatching an order to the island demanding that the property of the Chians that fled to Sulla and that of all Roman residents be confiscated and proceeds sent to his war chest. The Chians promptly confiscated this property but kept all the money raised. This was the pretext Mithridates was waiting for and promptly send Zenobius to deal once and for all with the Chians.

¹⁰⁸ What Mithridates thought of the Chians is recorded in Appian, 47, in his letter read in front of the Chian assembly by Zenobius after the city had surrendered to him (see the previous footnote).

¹⁰⁹ A. Dugg, *He died old, Mithridates VI Eupator, King of Pontus*, (London, 1958), p. 79, suggests that the city was occupied by a force ostensibly on its way to reinforce Mithridates's general Archelaus in Greece and stopping at Chios for provisions. This is plausible and may explain the great ease with which Zenobius gained access in the city since we have no record that the city came under siege by this force.

¹¹⁰ This point is clear in Appian, *Mithridatic Wars*, 47, line 24; this topic is investigated in the outline of the coinage and a theory is proposed in pp. 261-3.

sheltered the Chians until the war had ended and it was safe for them to return back to their island.

I. 9. Chios during the late Republic and early Empire: The treaty of Dardanus (85 BC) brought a temporary halt to the fighting between Mithridates and the Roman Empire. One of its terms made provision for the safe return home of all people exiled during the war and the Chians are specifically named as one of the displaced peoples (Appian, *Mithridatic Wars*, 55). Even though Mithridates agreed to these terms and signed the treaty it would seem that the Pontic garrison was forced out of Chios by a Roman army under the command of Lucius Lucullus, Sullas's questor at the time.¹¹¹

Appian states that Chios was declared a free city by Sulla in 80 BC and confirmation of this is found in Cicero and also a local inscription from the early Imperial period (Appian, *Mithridatic Wars*, 55; Cicero, *De Harusp. resp.* XVI, 34; SEG 22, no. 502, lines 10-17). The latter source also records that the Roman citizens resident at Chios were subject to local laws, and that Roman officials did not have jurisdiction over Chians in their city (lines 17-18).¹¹² The resumption of silver issues by this city's mint is also linked directly to its political status as a free city and ally of Rome, since other Greek cities striking silver coinage at the time had proved loyal to Rome during the course of the 1st Mithridatic war, and were also declared free and awarded privileges by the Roman Senate.¹¹³

¹¹¹ A fragment of a Chian inscription (IG XII 6, no. 881) is probably a honorary decree for Lucullus after 85 BC.

¹¹² For an interpretation of these lines see A. Marshal, 1971, pp. 255-271. Chian freedom was disregarded by Verres, a Roman official subordinate of the governor of Cilicia, who looted the temple of Phana in 79 BC (Cicero, *In Verrem II*, I, 49). Much has been made of this event to show that Chian freedom depended on the good will of the Roman officials in the Eastern provinces and was not secured even after the grant by Sulla (Sarikakis, 1975, p. 367). However this seems to be contradicted by the fact that Verres and his Chian associate in the looting were duly prosecuted and both stood trial for their acts.

¹¹³ Following the end of the 1st Mithridatic War in 84 BC only cities in Asia Minor that had stayed loyal to Rome during the war continued striking their own civic silver coinage, see the examples of Rhodes, Aphrodisias, Tabae, Stratonikeia, and others. P. Kinns, 'Asia Minor', pp. 105-119, p. 111, in *The Coinage of the Roman World in the Late Republic, Proceedings of a Colloquium held at the British Museum in September of 1985*, eds. A. M. Burnett and M. A. Crawford, BAR International Series (1987), suggests that the cities striking local silver

Chios seems to have retained a close relationship with Rome during the course of the 1st century BC, through various embassies sent by the Chian authorities with petitions for the Roman Senate. On such an occasion in 58/7 BC Cicero records the extraordinary event of how a Chian politician, ΕΡΜΑΡΧΟΣ, bribed the notorious Roman populist demagogue Poplius Clodius to have a fellow Chian politician, ΘΕΟΔΟΣΙΟΣ murdered outside the Senate house at Rome (Cicero, *De harusp. resp.* 16, 34; Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 156, no. 120). No further details are known of this episode which seems to highlight political tensions at Chios during a period when nothing else is known about the political history of the island.

We know very little about Chian involvement in events affecting the Greek East during the 1st century BC. Sarikakis believes that the island may have aided Pompey in his war against the Cilician pirates during 67 BC.¹¹⁴ Chios was a community profiting from maritime trade and naturally would have had much to gain from Pompey clearing the sea routes of pirates; this is likely to have led the island's citizens to actively supporting him.¹¹⁵ Furthermore, this theory seems to be corroborated by the recent find and publication of a large marble slab from Samothrace containing four different inscriptions. Two of these have lists of names of the crew of a Chian war ship,¹¹⁶ recorded in the headings of the inscriptions as patrolling against pirates. The inscriptions with the Chian crews belong to the same period and are dated between 84 and the 60s BC (Skarlatidou, 1990-1, pp. 167-8). This evidence suggests that Chios would have participated in a well organized effort to protect the Aegean from

coinage after 84 BC were those specially favoured by the Romans and which had aided their war effort against Mithridates. This shows that the right of local provincial authorities in the eastern part of the Empire to strike precious metal coinage would have been -by the late Republic- at the will of the Roman authorities.

¹¹⁴ For Pompey's war against the pirates see M. Crawford, *The Roman Republic*, London, 1992, Appendix 4, 'The Special Commands', pp. 203-204.

¹¹⁵ Sarikakis, 1975, p. 369; Idem, 1970, pp. 187-8, considers that Chians who were Roman citizens and had the gentilicium, '*Pompeius*' may have acquired Roman citizenship through an ancestor serving in Pompey's fleet. Pompey is known to have rewarded many of his foreign crews with Roman citizenship upon release from service.

¹¹⁶ E. K. Skarlatidou, 'Κατάλογος μυστών και εποπτών απο την Σαμοθράκη', ('A catalogue of mysts and epoptes from Samothrace'), *Horos* 8-9, (1990-91), pp. 153-172.

piracy by Rome. The Chian crews may have been acting under Pompey's command. The aplustre symbol, frequently appearing on the Chian coinage of the period, beside the sphinx - the main civic emblem of the Chian state- probably alludes to such naval exploits on the part of Chian crews against pirates (see the chapter on typology, p. 617).¹¹⁷ In fact war ships of Chios are recorded as part of Pompey's fleet but this was at a later period, during the civil war with Caesar in 49-48 BC (Cicero, *ad Atticum* IX, 9, 2; Lucan, *De Bell. Civ.* VIII, 195; Appian, *Roman Civil Wars*, II, 71; Sarikakis, 1975, p. 369). This contribution to Pompey's struggle against his main rival, might have been out of gratitude for his past campaigning in the Aegean against the pirates. Nevertheless it was a Chian named ΘΕΟΔΟΣΙΟΣ, who masterminded Pompey's murder in 48 BC in Alexandria while he was fleeing the victorious Caesar.¹¹⁸

Nothing is known of relations between Chios and Caesar after he became the undisputed master of the Roman Empire. Part of a much fragmented Chian inscription -long since lost- honours Caesar, but this antedates his war with Pompey.¹¹⁹ Naturally it is a laudatory inscription for the victor avoiding any reference on the 'delicate' subject of Chian aid to his opponent. No literary source gives any information on the stance taken by Chios during the Civil wars of 44-42 BC and 32-30 BC. During the first war Brutus and Cassius, are known to have plundered and levied cities in Asia Minor and the Aegean to pay for their troops (Crawford, 1985, p. 251); perhaps Chios was also one of their victims. A decade later Chios is likely to have given support to M. Antony in his war against Octavian in 32-31 BC, following the example of the rest of Greece, with the exception of Sparta.¹²⁰ As I discuss in the outline of the coinage, pp. 339-345, a certain drachm series struck by Chios and dating to

¹¹⁷ The aplustre appears on certain issues dating between c 80-30 BC, with most of these around the middle of the 1st century BC (drachms on the 'reduced denarius' standard and issues of Series 20).

¹¹⁸ Theodotos, the tutor of Ptolemy XII, who instigated Pompey's murder, was a Chian. See Sarikakis, 1975, p. 369, f. 2, with the many (ancient and modern) references to this individual.

¹¹⁹ A. Boeckhius (ed.), *Corpus Inscriptiones Graecae*, 2nd Vol. (Berlin, 1843), p. 203, no. 2214.

¹²⁰ Sarikakis, 1975, p. 369-370. Dio Cassius, 50, 6, 5 and Pausanias IV, 31, 1-2, state that all Greek cities, except Sparta, gave support to Antony.

this period may be linked to events of these wars but throws no light on the history of Chios at the time.

The reign of Augustus brought some prominence to the island since it is frequently mentioned in literary sources of the period either on its own or in relation with events occurring elsewhere in the Empire. It seems likely that Augustus may have renewed Chios's status as a free city after 26 BC by upholding Sulla's ('senatorial') decree of 80 BC.¹²¹ In c. 24 BC the city suffered extensive damage in an earthquake that also destroyed the cities of Thyateira and Laodicea in Asia Minor. The future emperor Tiberius, in one of his earliest speeches to the Roman Senate, asked for financial aid on behalf of the stricken cities, and Chios is specifically mentioned (Suetonius, *Life of Tiberius*, 8). His petition seems to have been successful since Augustus sent considerable financial aid to cities in Asia Minor affected by this earthquake (Dio Cassius, 54, 30). A certain Chian drachm inscribed with the legend ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ and probably dating to the early reign of Augustus, (see pp. 378-82 of this study) is likely to have been struck from this aid or in commemoration of the Imperial contribution.¹²²

Herod of Judaea visited Chios in 14 BC on his way to meet Agrippa in the Euxine. Though his stay on the island was brief, Josephus (*Jewish Antiquities*, XVI, 18-26) records a number of Herod's benefactions to the city and its citizens.¹²³ The king spent money on rebuilding a public building that had lain in ruins ever since the 1st Mithridatic War; showered the people with gifts and money and paid Chian debts to the Roman treasury. The

¹²¹ Syll. 3 785, 2, SEG 22, no. 502, the last two lines (18-20) of this inscription refer to a letter sent to the Chians by Augustus after he was elected consul for the eighth time (26 BC) dealing with the question of the city's freedom. The inscription is broken at this point and the contents of the letter are missing. Sarikakis, 1975, p. 367, thinks that since this reference was included in an official Chian inscription in association with Sulla's decree it seems in fact that Augustus did renew the status of Chios as a free city within the Roman Empire.

¹²² For this emergency aid to Chios by Augustus, see *An economic survey of Ancient Rome, Vol. IV, Africa, Syria, Greece, Asia Minor*, by Haywood, Heichelheim et al., (Baltimore, 1938), p. 711.

¹²³ For a discussion of Herod's visit see Sarikakis, 1975, pp. 370-371. L. Robert, 1958, p. 296, f. 382, dates Herod's visit to the island in 12 BC, while Magie, 1950, p. 478 in 14 BC; the latter date is generally accepted today. Herod's benefactions were also of economic significance which is considered in the chapter on the economy, p. 663.

latter is taken as evidence by Sarikakis that Chios was paying taxes to Rome by this time (Sarikakis, 1975, p. 371). However in light of the fact that Chios was still a free city it is more likely that these may represent debts of loans taken out either by the city or private citizens (Magie, 1950, p. 1337, f. 20).

The importance of Chios at the time is also evident by the fact that Gaius, Augustus' grandson and heir, used the island as his temporary base while travelling through the Eastern provinces in 2 AD. On this occasion Tiberius briefly left his exile on Rhodes and came to Chios to discuss with Gaius his personal condition at the time (Dio Cassius, 55, 10). Undoubtedly Tiberius would have been welcomed by the Chians recalling his contribution to their plight during the earthquake of two decades earlier. However no honorary inscriptions for Tiberius either dating before or after his accession are known to have been found at Chios.

Minor dignitaries that seem to have been associated with the island during the early Augustan period include L. D. Ahenobarbus, consul and legate of Augustus to Illyria, and another legate of the name Vinicius; the latter is probably M. Vinicius, a personal friend of Augustus who also served in Illyria.¹²⁴ Bases of statues erected in their honour by the demos of Chios probably allude to their presence on the island. Each is recorded as ΠΑΤΡΩΝ (benefactor) of the city which would suggest that they may have offered some benefaction to the city following the example of Herod. The fact that both are known to have been legates in

¹²⁴ Both these names are found in two different inscriptions of bases of statues. Euaggelides, AD, 1927-8, p. 25, no. 4, the first inscription honouring L. D. Ahenobarbus and possibly dating to the late 1st century BC. In p. 27, no. 9, another Chian inscription honouring a legate [ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΟΝ] of the name Vinicius [ΟΥΙΝΙΚΙΟΝ] most probably M. Vinicius *cos. suff.* in 19 BC and legate of Augustus in Illyria; Kourouniotis, p. 25, believes that L. D. Ahenobarbus was honoured with a statue on the occasion of his visit to the island possibly after his consulship of 19 BC and prior to him becoming legate at Illyria. He suggests this on the discovery of similar bases for statues of this individual found at Athens and Miletus, cities that are known to have been visited by him at the time. The inscription makes no reference to him as legate possibly confirming Kourouniotis's date. A number of different individuals of the name Vinicius (most of them, members of the same family) are known to have held the consulship during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, but there has been no attempt in the past to identify the individual honoured at Chios. It seems to me likely that he would have been M. Vinicius, a close friend of Augustus, since the title ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΟΝ (legate) appears next to his name in the inscription, and M. Vinicius is known to have held this office.

Illyria at one point in their careers is almost certainly a coincidence and no significance should be attached to this in relation to their association with Chios.

The short lived emperor Caligula (37-41 AD) is honoured in two different inscriptions, suggesting that he may have been popular with the Chians and likely to have bestowed privileges on the island. The first known case of a Chian receiving Roman citizenship from an emperor seems to date to this reign.¹²⁵ One of the inscriptions records the decision of the Chian assembly to honour Caligula's birthday with a festival funded by private subscriptions. The second inscription is too fragmentary to make any sense; it includes however the earliest reference to Antiochus IV of Commagene who became closely associated with Chios.¹²⁶

The reign of Caligula marks the beginning of the association between Chios and Antiochus. This ruler eventually turned out to be a major benefactor of the island retaining contacts throughout his long reign lasting over thirty years. The inscription referring to him alongside Caligula shows that he had ties with Chios going back to the beginning of his reign. It is therefore likely that one of his ancestors may have had a connection with the island.

Regardless of whether Commagene was already close to Chios when Antiochus IV came to the throne or if the latter first cultivated this relationship, Antiochus proved the most active of all benefactors to the island. This close relationship between Chios and Commagene was commemorated in inscriptions and most surprisingly a special coin issue that I discuss in pp. 386-90, in the outline of the coinage.

¹²⁵ T. Sarikakis, *Η χορήγησης ρωμαϊκής πολιτείας εις τους Χίους* [the awarding of Roman citizenship to the Chians], *Επιστημονική επιτελής*, EETH 11, (1970), pp. 171-208, p. 182, discusses the case of a Roman soldier, C. Julius C. f. Saturninus, who completed twenty five years of service with the Roman army in 83 AD, and was the son of a Chian who was not born to Roman citizens but acquired Roman citizenship late in life. According to Sarikakis the father received Roman citizenship by Caligula; the military diploma of the son has survived and is published in CIL XVI, 29, quoted from Sarikakis, *ibid*, f. 18.

¹²⁶ The inscription was first published by Zolotas, 1908, 211; IGR, IV, 945; L. Robert, 1933, p. 533; *Idem*, 1938, pp. 142-3, no. 9, who discusses the presence of the names of Caligula and Antiochus in the same inscription at Chios. I would like to thank Professor W. G. Forrest who in personal communication told me of his certainty that the Roman emperor honoured in this inscription with Antiochus is Caligula and not Nero.

At the same time we also have evidence of the relation between Chios and Rome. The emperor Claudius (41-54 AD) seems to have awarded Roman citizenship to a large number of locals since many Chians have the *gentilicium* of this emperor (Ti. Claudius).¹²⁷ One of these is Tiberius Klaudius Gorgias son of Dorotheos, a moneyer who signed an issue discussed in outline of the coinage. His coinage is generally dated in the middle of the 1st century AD suggesting that he may have been one the original recipients of Roman citizenship from Claudius.¹²⁸

The emperor Nero (54-68 AD) is honoured in two fragmentary Chian inscriptions. The first of these mentions him together with Antiochus and probably records an imperial donation towards the building of baths in the city of Chios (L. Robert, 1938, p. 128-9, no. 4). The second honours his decision to grant freedom to all of Greece in 67 AD.¹²⁹ It is interesting that Chios honours Nero for this decision even though the island itself was free at the time.

¹²⁷ Sarikakis, 1970, pp. 183-4, who lists all recorded Chians with this gentilicium.

¹²⁸ Another Chian that probably became a Roman citizen during the reign of Claudius was ΚΛΑΥΔΙΑ ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΑ daughter of ΣΚΥΘΕΙΝΟΣ who is honoured in an inscription dating to the middle of the 1st century AD around the time she was awarded Roman citizenship; see L. Robert, 1938, pp. 128-134; Sarikakis, 1970, *ibid.* This woman was a major benefactor for her city offering money for the repairing of public buildings and was also elected to important political offices.

¹²⁹ W. G. Forrest, 'Some inscriptions of Chios', *ABSA* 61, (1966), pp. 197-207, p. 203. Only the first lines are preserved, which are typical of inscriptions in the Greek world honouring Nero's grant of freedom to Greece.

I. 10. Chios during the later Roman period: Very little is known of Chios between the end of the reign of Nero and the 3rd century AD. This is attributed to the lack of references to the island in contemporary literary sources and also a marked decrease in the number of official Chian inscriptions during the 2nd-3rd centuries AD.

In what is the last ancient literary reference of any significance to Chios, Pliny the Elder states (NH, V, XXXVIII) that the city was still nominally free during the reign of Vespasian;¹³⁰ presumably Chios would also have continued to be outside a province. Nonetheless an inscription dating from this reign (or the first year of his successor, Titus) listing cities of the province of Asia also includes Chios (or rather, *the Chians*) as part of the *conventus* of Pergamum.¹³¹ This suggests that the city would have become officially incorporated in the Roman Empire within the province of Asia by the time the inscription was produced.

Nothing is known about the political status of Chios at the time and whether or not it lost its freedom upon entering the province.¹³² A local inscription, recording the contents of a letter sent by Domitian to the Chians in 92-3 AD, is addressed to the *magistrates, boule and demos*.¹³³ Unfortunately only the heading survives from this inscription and little can be deduced about the status of Chios at the time. However the letter appears to have recorded the emperor's decision on a matter concerning local affairs, possibly following a direct request to the emperor himself (Sarikakis, 1975, p. 186); this may be seen as evidence that the island

¹³⁰ The date of the completion of this work is considered as c. AD 77, see the introduction of the Loeb edition by H. Rackhame, 1938, p. viii.

¹³¹ C. Habicht, 'New Evidence on the Province of Asia', JRS LXXV, (1975), p. 66. The inscription is dated c 70-80 AD. The evidence on the political status of Chios, which I discuss here, seems to narrow down the date for this inscription in the brief space of c 77-80 AD

¹³² The few cases of cities that became absorbed into a province during the Imperial period seem to suggest that their freedom was also withdrawn; see for example Cyzicus and Rhodes under Tiberius (Suetonius, *Life of Tiberius*, 37), and cities in Lycia under Claudius (Suetonius, *Life of Claudius*, 25). Fustel de Coulanges, 1856, p. 560, states that Chios lost its freedom during Trajan's reign. There is no evidence in support of this theory.

¹³³ The inscription is published by Zolota, 1908, p. 237, N'; see also the publication in IGR IV, 931. The inscription is discussed by Sarikakis, 1975, p. 186.

was officially part of the Empire. In the outline of the coinage, pp. 422-3, I discuss a change in the rendering of the ethnic legend on the coinage of the late 1st century AD onwards, coinciding with the time when Chios became officially part of the Empire, which may reflect the new status of the island vis a vis the Roman Empire.

During the reign of Hadrian (117-138 AD) Chios is known to have been the place of exile for two high ranking Romans who fell out with the emperor.¹³⁴ I doubt if this should be seen as evidence of the island's decline; it is more likely to have been seen as a place of 'comfortable' exile, and a way for the emperor of getting rid of influential individuals from Rome, without necessarily punishing them. After all, Hadrian himself may have visited Chios during one of his Eastern travels.¹³⁵

M. Aurelius was honoured in a Chian inscription while he was Caesar,¹³⁶ and it is during his reign as emperor that an athlete from Chios named ΗΡΑΣ, won victories in a host of athletic competitions including the Olympics and the Capitoleia, the most prestigious games at Rome. His victories are commemorated in an inscription recording his exploits and ending with an epigram.¹³⁷ The fact that Heras seems to have been awarded Roman citizenship by the emperor himself at Rome shows that eventually his reputation was established throughout the Empire.¹³⁸

¹³⁴ The philosopher Postumius and the orator Favorinus; see G. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire*, Oxford, 1969, p. 36; Sarikakis, 1975, p. 362.

¹³⁵ This is not recorded in the literary sources but Sarikakis, 1970, pp. 178-9, thinks it likely since Hadrian is known to have visited both Samos and Lesbos, islands located to the immediate south and north of Chios; his ship would have certainly had to call at Chios while travelling between these two islands (see also, J. Durr, *Die Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian*, (Vienna, 1881), pp. 66-72). A fragment from a Chian inscription honouring Hadrian was published in SEG 15 (1958), no. 530 and a recent find from the city of Chios -as yet unpublished- is part of an altar or the base of a statue recording honours bestowed on Hadrian by the Chian 'senate' (γερονσία) possibly alluding to the emperor's presence at Chios. Hopefully the eventual publication of this inscription may throw light on the question on whether Hadrian visited Chios.

¹³⁶ First reported by A. Stefanou in the local Chian newspaper, *Ο Χιακός Λαός*, 20 Dec. 1955 and published in SEG. 15 (1958), no. 531. The Chian demos also honoured his co-ruler Lucius Verrus with a statue recorded in an inscription, published in CIG, no. 2217.

¹³⁷ SEG 19 (1963), no. 589; for new fragments of the inscription, IG XII, 5-6, pp. 226-7, no. 712. The inscription dates between 160/1 and 176/7 AD

¹³⁸ For this individual see W. Peek, 'Aurelius Heras', *WZH* 9, (1960) Heft 2, pp. 191-204; Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 86, no. 679. Heras is also recorded in Eusebius, *Chronikon I*, as an Olympic champion.

After the 2nd century AD Chios disappears from literary sources only to re-emerge during the 5th-6th century AD in chronicles of lives of Christian saints.¹³⁹ Some of these probably refer to events at Chios during the 3rd century AD and may be seen as relevant to this historical background. The *Life of St Nikon of Naples* claims that not a single Christian was living at Chios during the reign of Trajan Decius (249-51 AD). Guided by a vision St Nikon came to the island to preach Christianity; however this was to no avail since not a single Chian was converted, and the saint promptly left the island dismayed by the local indifference to the new religion. Shortly afterwards another Christian, St Isidoros, decided to preach the gospel at Chios. The chronicler of his life records that he hailed from Alexandria and that he arrived at Chios on board a warship of the Roman navy serving as a sailor.

The hagiography of Isidoros was written at a time when Chios was re-established as a major stopover for ships carrying grain from Alexandria to Constantinople, which would have been escorted by war ships, and this fact may reflect a situation contemporary with the composition of this life during the early Byzantine period.¹⁴⁰ However one of the medieval versions of St. Isidoros life records that the war fleet left Alexandria to battle *Scyths* (Goths) when it stopped at Chios for provisions.¹⁴¹ It may be that this detail in St. Isidoros life was drawn upon a source close to the period suggesting that the docking of the Roman war fleet at Chios during the middle of the 3rd century AD was probably linked with Roman campaigning in the northern Aegean and the Black Sea regions.¹⁴²

¹³⁹ For details of these lives, see V. Penna, 'Early Christian Chios, monuments and their sources', pp. 53-64, p. 53 in *Chios: Art and Archaeology*, (Chios, 1988).

¹⁴⁰ On the use of the harbour of Chios by ships carrying grain to Constantinople during the early Byzantine period see A. Loutrari, *Η Ιστορία του Χιώτικου Λιμανιού* (*The History of the Chian Harbour*) a paper delivered in the Conference 'European Heritage Days' held at the Homereion Culture Centre at Chios in September 1997, (Chios, 1997), p. 9.

¹⁴¹ This is the Latin version of the life of St. Isidoros (11th century AD) in *Acta Sanctorum of Boll. and Isti. Passionale dei Secoli XII, XI*, Marcian Bibliotheca, Cl. This source also records that the fleet was under the command of an admiral named Numerian, further evidence of the importance attached to its mission.

¹⁴² A likely context is the defence of the Aegean from raids of the Goths known to have started during the reign of Trajan Decius, see *The Imperial Crisis and the Recovery AD 193-324*, eds. S. A. Cook et al., *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. XII, (Cambridge, 1939), Ch. 5, pp. 143-145.

II. OUTLINE OF THE COINAGE

Bronze coinage at the end of the Classical period (Series 13, figs a-b)

The following is a brief discussion of the numismatic conditions at Chios during the 330's BC and about the time of the island's incorporation into Alexander's Empire. Issues that were struck or in circulation at the time belong to the Classical period and are found in the study prepared by Dr Hardwick (see the introduction). Nevertheless an account of Chian Hellenistic coinage should also include a reference to these late Classical issues, since most of the bronze issues were subsequently overstruck with the earliest Chian Hellenistic series. In the following section I have attempted to establish the period when the latest Classical issues ceased to circulate and were overstruck with new types. I have therefore considered here only those aspects of the late Classical period coinage that are useful in dating this monetary event.

Our knowledge of the local bronze coins in use at Chios during the final years of the Classical period is almost exclusively based on the publication of hoard IGCH1217, Chios, c. 1885? (Löbbecke, 1887, pp. 149-157), found near the village of Pithyos on Chios during the last quarter of the 19th century.¹⁴³ The formation of the hoard is dated at the end of the Classical period,¹⁴⁴ and the hoarded coins would seem to have been in circulation during the early stage of Alexander's Eastern campaign.

As we saw in the discussion of the historical background (pp. 17-19), Chios was one of the few Greek cities bitterly fought over by Alexander and the Persian Empire in the period 336-332 BC. Macedonian troops briefly occupied the city on two occasions (possibly in 336 BC, certainly in 334 BC), but were driven out by a combined counterattack of local and

¹⁴³ It is also discussed by Baldwin, 1914, pp. 48-50; Maurogordato, 1916, p. 431; J. Boardman, 1958-9, p. 306 and Hardwick, 1991, pp. 180-181.

¹⁴⁴ Löbbecke, 1887, p. 155, dates it c 334-332 BC; this is followed by Maurogordato, 1916, p. 281 and Hardwick, 1991, p. 180; Boardman, 1958-9, p. 309, gives a date of c 330; Baldwin, 1914, pp. 51-52, suggests a later date, in the final quarter of the 4th century BC.

Persian forces. It was only in 332 BC, following the battle at Issus, that Alexander finally established his rule on Chios, and effectively eliminated all external and internal opposition.

In the past numismatists have associated the formation of the Pithyos hoard with these events, concluding that the date of its deposition was c. 330 BC and the latest coins of the hoard were issued shortly before. This is also independently confirmed by the presence in the hoard of two unworn drachms of the Carian dynast Pixodarus, who was in power between 340/1-336/5 BC. On the other hand the latest bronze Chian issue represented belongs to Series 13;¹⁴⁵ all of the coins are part of 'Group a' of this series since the publication of the hoard does not include coins from 'Group b'.¹⁴⁶ Issues of Group 13b share the same types as those of 13a and must therefore have been struck by the same authority in power at Chios before 332 BC. Though the two groups form part of the same series, and appear to be contemporary, there are certain minor typological and stylistic differences which have not been recorded before. Most notably the cross is much broader on issues of 13b, and the legend of the moneyer's name, inscribed within it, is larger and more visible than on issues of 13a.¹⁴⁷ Furthermore, no die links are known to exist between the two groups. The typological differences, combined also with the fact that the Pithyos hoard only contained issues from the first group, would suggest that they were not struck together but with a brief interval between

Types of issues of 13a bear a great stylistic resemblance to Chian silver issues of the late Classical period dating c 350 BC¹⁴⁸ suggesting that they were probably contemporary.

¹⁴⁵ See the introduction on the numbering system adopted in this study for the bronze series.

¹⁴⁶ Out of a total number of 149 bronze Chian coins found in the Pithyos hoard only nine belonged to Series 13a, all of them have seen minimum circulation and are in a better condition compared to the other coins in the hoard. The 'Pindakas' hoard -Boardman, 1958-9, pp. 304-309- deposited around a quarter of a century earlier (Boardman argues in pp. 308-309, for a date in the mid 4th century BC), included no coins of Series 13. 'Pindakas' was a currency hoard comprising coins that were in circulation at the time (p. 304) which suggests that issues of Series 13a were not struck before c 350 BC. On the chronology and classification of the bronze issues of Chios of the Classical period see Hardwick, 1991, pp. 178-184.

¹⁴⁷ Compare a typical example of a coin of 13a in Pl. I, fig. 1, with an example of an issue of 13b, fig. 2

¹⁴⁸ Hardwick, silver Series nos. 9-10, 1993, pp. 182-184; Baldwin, 1914, p. 49, also finds stylistic similarities between a coin of Series 13a (illustrated in fig. 16 of her article) and drachms of this series (see in particular, Pl. VI., figs. 12-13).

Since the hoard only contained coins of this group it seems more likely that it was deposited during the early part of the period 336-332, probably during the first two years.¹⁴⁹ Issues of 13b would have followed shortly afterwards, in the period 334-332 BC at a time when Chios was effectively under Persian occupation.

Both groups belonging to Series 13 appear to have been recalled from circulation, probably soon after 332 BC, since they were then used as flans for striking the succeeding issues (Series 14, on this overstriking see pp. 55-58). The total recalling of these coins from circulation, during this period, is further suggested by their complete absence from later hoards and also by the fact that they are not found overstruck by issues of other series later than Series 14. The small number of coins belonging of Series 13 that have survived show little sign of having seen any circulation; all known coins of 'Group b' are also poorly struck with dies of inferior quality to 'Group a', possibly pointing to a coinage issued in haste.

¹⁴⁹ This proposed date is slightly earlier than the date of c 334-332 BC first considered by Löbbecke and accepted by most other numismatists.

II. 1. BRONZE SERIES 14 (Pl. I)

1. General aspects: The Hellenistic coinage of Chios, as defined in this thesis, starts with bronze issues belonging to Series 14, struck after Alexander conquered the island in 332 BC (see below, p. 59, for the proposed dating of the issues). This proposed date for the series would suggest a clear break between the Chian coinage of the late Classical and early Hellenistic periods, and helps us to distinguish the coinages belonging to the different eras. Chios seems to provide us with a rare example of a civic coinage that can be examined in the light of Alexander's conquest, making it possible to consider the effect this event may have had on the coinage and finances of an individual Greek city.¹⁵⁰

Six individual issues have been identified as comprising Series 14, each one inscribed with the name of a different moneyer. Issues of ΑΓΓΕΛΗΣ, ΕΡΜΩΝΑΞ, ΦΙΛΑΤΗΣ, and ΧΙΡΩΝ, are represented by a small number of coins, most originating from hoard IGCH1306 (Chios c 1909).¹⁵¹ Another issue in the name of ΦΑΝΟΔΙΚΟΣ is known from two extant coins,¹⁵² while

¹⁵⁰ V. Ehrenberg, *Alexander and the Greeks*, translated by R. V. Velsen, 2nd ed., (Oxford, 1980), p. 32, comments that the dates of most civic coinages from the 4th century BC are not precise and that there is much confusion between issues before and after Alexander's conquest. P. Kinns, 'Ionia: The Pattern of Coinage during the last century of the Persian Empire', *PEA* 91, (1989), pp. 183-193, proposed plausible dates for most coinages in the region but only for those struck before Alexander's expedition.

¹⁵¹ The hoard is shared between the British Museum and the Athens Numismatic Museum. According to Maurogordato, 1916, p. 283, it was found '...a few years ago' which would suggest the early years of this century, and was dispersed upon its discovery. A large part was donated by J. Anderson, director of the Greek telegraphic company, to the Numismatic Museum at Athens in 1912; the coins were then recorded and published by J. Svoronos, *JINA*, 1913, in his report on the new acquisitions of the Athens Numismatic Museum, pp. 35-36. Anderson also donated a similar number of coins from the same series to the British Museum in 1914. This makes it almost certain that both lots of coins came from the same hoard as they were acquired by the same person and donated within a couple of years. As I have discovered, many of the coins from this series in Athens and London are covered with the same surface patina and seem to have originated from the same find spot or hoard. The coin collection of Maurogordato, most of which is now in the B. M., also included a number of these issues. Some of these coins display the same patina as the coins of the Anderson donation, and could also be from the same hoard, though Maurogordato makes no mention in his publication of acquiring coins from the hoard. As far as we can tell he collected coins from many different sources and we should not exclude the possibility that he acquired some of the coins from this hoard at a later stage, after he had published his study on the Chian coinage.

¹⁵² Both are in the coin collection of the Coins and Medals Department of the British Museum, see the coin catalogue for references.

the issue of ΦΙΛΩΝ was recorded in the past as part of this series but the two known coins have since been lost.¹⁵³

2. Absence of Chian silver: No local silver issues were struck to accompany this bronze coinage and precious metal issues of Alexander and his immediate successors were the only such legal tender issues at Chios during the early years of the Hellenistic period (Hardwick, 1993, p. 219).¹⁵⁴ This monetary system is attested in inscriptions of Chios dating in the last quarter of the 4th century BC. An inscription, probably dating to the 320's BC, honours foreign judges for settling disputes at Chios and records an expenditure paid for them by the city of Chios in the sum of '*one hundred drachms of Alexander*'.¹⁵⁵ In another inscription from the following decade (310's BC), honouring a citizen of the island of Cos, the Chians undertake to pay an expense with '*Alexander's gold coinage*'.¹⁵⁶ Both inscriptions are securely dated before c. 300 BC,¹⁵⁷ showing that the referred coinage cannot be identified with that of the 'Posthumous Alexanders' struck locally at Chios, since the first of such issues were not struck before the early 3rd century BC (see p. 82).

Another Chian inscription, which however has not been dated with any precision by epigraphists, mentions a gift of an individual to the Asclepium at Chios of '*ten thousand silver Alexander drachms*'.¹⁵⁸ This inscription may be contemporary with the two mentioned

¹⁵³ Maurogordato, 1916, p. 287, a coin of this type in the coin cabinet of Munich. He did not study it, and no such coin exists there today. However I have included this issue in the discussion of the series since Maurogordato recorded in the same page that he also saw a coin bearing this name and similar types in a private collection in Chios which since has been dispersed.

¹⁵⁴ For a general discussion of the different Alexander issues, see, M. J. Price, 1991, p. 24. Following the death of Alexander in 323 BC his successors continued striking coinage bearing his name and types.

¹⁵⁵ IG XII 6, no. 390, line 12, ΔΡΑΧΜΩΝ ΕΚΑΤΟΝ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΩΝ. The inscription is dated in IG, c. 300 BC. However Heisserer, 1980, 'Appendix', p. 115, plausibly argues for a date of c. 320 BC, based on the similarity between the letter forms appearing on this inscription and those of the two letters of Alexander to the Chians.

¹⁵⁶ SEG 18, (1962), no 353, dated there as c 318-5 BC. The sum of '*fifty Alexander gold coins*', ΧΡΥΣΩΝ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΩΝ ΠΕΝΤΗΚΟΝΤΑ, to be spent by the city of Chios on the purchase of a gold wreath is mentioned twice, lines 1 and 6.

¹⁵⁷ See the previous footnotes with proposed dates for the inscriptions. Though there as we saw different proposed datings for the inscriptions none is after c 300 BC.

¹⁵⁸ Vanseveren, 'Inscriptions de Chios', pp. 334-5, l. 7-10, ΑΡΓΥΡΙΑ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΩΝ ΔΡΑΧΜΑΣ ΜΥΡΙΑΣ

above, though it is also possible that it belongs to a later period, and that the coinage is that of the Chian 'Posthumous Alexanders' Series. However a date during the Roman Imperial period that has been proposed for it in the past can be safely discounted.¹⁵⁹

It seems that the Chian silver issues struck on a local standard during the late Classical period,¹⁶⁰ formed no part of the early Hellenistic currency, and must have been withdrawn from circulation alongside the contemporary bronze coinage. None are found in hoards dating later than c 330 BC and this is in contrast to other local Greek silver coinages that are known to have continued circulating in the early Hellenistic period, even though their standard was incompatible to that of Alexander's coinage which was struck on the Attic standard. Hardwick (1991, p. 182; Idem, 1993, p. 219) has plausibly suggested that the standard of these late Classical Chian issues were had a fixed exchange rate with issues on the Attic standard. One Chian tetradrachm and drachm weighed the same as a tetradrachm on the Attic standard and these coins would have had no problem circulating alongside the silver coinage of Alexander which was struck on the Attic weight. In this light it seems more likely that the silver issues of Chios were withdrawn from circulation for political and not economic reasons.

3. Denominations: Issues of Series 14 belong to a maximum of three different denominations and this denominational system seems to have become standard in the succeeding series struck by the Chian mint in the course of the next century.¹⁶¹ The largest denomination of Series 14 consists of coins weighing an average of 3.64g (64 coins) and have a module of 18-16 mm. The diameter and average weight of the coins agree well with that of issues of other

¹⁵⁹ This was proposed by Vanseveren, 'Inscriptions de Chios', p. 355 and followed by Haywood et al., 1938, where this donation is discussed in the context of gifts to Greek cities during the Roman period. The inscription is not included in other publications of Chian inscriptions or in J. Melville Jones, *Testimonia Numaria, Greek and Latin Texts concerning Ancient Greek Coinage*, (London, 1993).

¹⁶⁰ Hardwick, 1991, pp. 182-184, 'Silver Series nos. 9-10'; see also, Idem, 1993, pp. 218-219.

¹⁶¹ For a detailed discussion on the structure of the denominational system at Chios during the Hellenistic period and evidence on identifying the individual values, see the chapter on bronze denominations, pp. 514-7

Greek cities that are considered as denominations of the trichalkon (valued at three chalkoi); it would therefore seem that the Chian coins belong to the same denomination.

Two smaller denominations seem to have been struck as fractions of the trichalkon. The largest of the two is known from a single coin and has a module of 12 mm and weighs 0.98 g.¹⁶² It bears the moneyer's name ΦΙΛΤΗΣ and is stylistically identical to the type of the larger denomination of the same series bearing this name. The weight and module of this coin is typical of the chalkous denomination that was known to have been issued by most Greek cities. Another issue recorded from an unique specimen has a module of 9 mm and weighs 0.86g. Its types are identical to those of the previous two denominations (trichalkon and chalkous), though the name of ΑΣΜΕΝΟΣ recorded in the legend, is not found on issues of any of the other two denominations.¹⁶³ The recorded weight of this coin is similar to that of the coin I consider to be the chalkous. However its module is noticeably smaller and this would suggest that it belongs to a denomination smaller than the chalkous. In all probability it would have been of the value of a hemichalkous.

All three denominations bear types that are stylistically identical, and there has been no attempt in distinguishing the denominations through the use of different types. This may be attributed to the fact that the modules of the denominations are clearly defined.

4. Overstriking of the issues: Nearly all coins of Series 14 that have survived show traces of an unworn undertype belonging to issues of either group of Series 13. This fact suggests that the withdrawal of both series from circulation was made well before the normal life-span of a coin issue made such an action necessary, and that the striking of Series 14 followed

¹⁶² Pl. I, fig. 24; the coin is in the B. M. but used to belong to the Maurogordato collection. It was not recorded in his publication suggesting that he would have acquired after his study was published.

¹⁶³ The coin is illustrated in Pl. I, fig. 25. Maurogordato, 1916, p. 290, assigned this issue to a later series, but typologically and stylistically it is identical to the trichalkon of Series 14 and certainly formed part of the same series. The obverse type also lacks the bunch of grapes symbol next to the sphinx which is typical of issues of 14 but not for issues of the succeeding series

immediately afterwards. We can be certain that the recalling of all issues of Series 13 was not followed by a reform of the currency since the weight and module of the coinage was left unaffected. The only reasonable explanation for this abrupt end to the circulation of issues of Series 13 seems to lie in the realms of politics and is probably associated with the change of the regime in power at Chios at the beginning of the Hellenistic period. In such a case it would seem that the types appearing on the issues may have provoked their recalling from circulation, making this drastic measure politically motivated and not based on monetary considerations.

It is well established that politics played an important role in the selection of a coin type by a Greek city, and changes in the local regime can be detected in changes of designs on successive civic types.¹⁶⁴ However it was not usual in the Greek world for an entire coin series to be withdrawn from circulation by the local authorities, solely on political considerations, and restruck with new types. Nevertheless the mint at Thasos seems to provide us with another example of an early Hellenistic civic coinage that was withdrawn from circulation and overstruck with new types, probably for political reasons.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁴ For a possible example of a change in the design of Athenian bronze coinage because of politics during the same period as Chian Series 14, see J. H. Kroll, 'A chronology of early Athenian bronze coinage, ca 350-250 B.C.' in *Greek Numismatics and Archaeology: Essays in Honour of Margaret Thompson*, ed. O Morkholm and U. Westermark, (Wetteren, 1979), p. 146. For other examples of changes in design motivated by politics, see Kraay, *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins*, (London, 1976), pp. 331-334, who considers the possibility that the successive changes in the shape of the reverse dies of silver issues of Samos may be the result of changes in government. Kinns, 1989, p. 186, suggests that the changes of design and type on successive bronze series of Clazomenae may be linked to internal strife resulting in a succession of 'oligarchic' and 'democratic' regimes.

¹⁶⁵ During the late 4th century BC Thasos overstruck a local bronze series with another one bearing new (different) types to the previous series; see O Picard, 'Les monnaies de Thasos', *Νομισματικά Χρονικά*, 9, (1990), pp. 15-31, p. 18. Picard attributes the change of the types and the overstriking of the series to economic reasons, but dates the new series c. 310 BC during what he considers to be a period of political anarchy at Thasos: 'Si j'ai raison de rattacher ce groupe à une période d'anarchie connue par une liste d'archontes'. From a later period, and during the 1st Mithridatic War (89-85 BC), we have a clear case of a city overstriking one of its issues with new types for purely political reasons. Early in this war, Smyrna struck an issue bearing the bust of Mithridates on the obverse and a winged victory on the reverse. This issue was promptly recalled from circulation and restruck with new types by the local authorities soon after it became clear that Mithridates was close to defeat, see P. Kinns, 1987, p. 110.

On the reverse of issues of Series 14 there is a depiction of an amphora, a type which was used in earlier Chian issues but subsequently replaced on issues of Series 13 by a different type, the vine wreath with a cross in its centre. If this reverse type does allude to the political party in power at the time of the issue, than the amphora type could have been the symbol of the pro-Macedonian ('*democratic*') faction at Chios, as opposed to the vine wreath and cross in centre and possibly representing the pro-Persian ('*oligarchic*') faction. In light of the bitter and prolonged strife between these opposing factions we can assume that when the Chians aiding the cause of Macedon finally prevailed in 332 BC they disposed of all symbols associated with their opponent's regime, including the coin issues struck some time earlier, while the oligarchics were ruling Chios on behalf of Persia. This theory seems to be supported by the fact that the amphora type was only established as an official emblem of Chios, in its own right and on a par with the sphinx, during the early Hellenistic period and afterwards.¹⁶⁶ Before the Hellenistic period the amphora type was depicted as a symbol of the Chian state but always in association with the sphinx, never on its own.

There is also the, less likely, possibility that the overstriking of Series 13a and 13b may have been instigated as a *damnatio memoriae* of the moneyers, obviously members of the leadership of the pro-Persian faction, whose names are inscribed within the cross of the reverse type. Though no clear case of such an action is documented on the coinage in the Greek world,¹⁶⁷ this theory should not be easily dismissed, in light of the extraordinary

¹⁶⁶ I discuss the use at Chios of the sphinx and the amphora as civic emblems -and coin types- in the chapter on typology.

¹⁶⁷ C. Habicht, *Studien zur Geschichte Athens in Hellenistischer Zeit*, Hypomnemata 73, (Göttingen, 1982), pp. 146-150, suggests that the overstriking of bronze coins of Antigonos Gonatas at Athens, and other southern Greek cities, is linked to a *damnatio memoriae* of Philip V of Macedon and all his ancestors (including Antigonos Gonatas) passed by Athens in c. 201 BC. This theory is rejected by J. H. Kroll, *The Athenian Agora*, Vol. XXVI, *The Greek Coins*, (Princeton, 1993), p. 52, f. 77, on the grounds that there is a significant chronological gap between the overstriking and the passing of the Athenian decree.

circumstances prevailing at Chios and other cities at the time.¹⁶⁸ Such was the scale and efficiency of the recall that almost all known issues of Series 13a and 13b are recorded as undertypes of coins of Series 14 or originate from a single hoard, Pithyos, IGCH1217.¹⁶⁹

5. Proposed dating: All available evidence points to a date not long after c 332 BC for the introduction of Series 14.¹⁷⁰ The recalling of bronze coinage from circulation, following the Macedonian consolidation of power at Chios, may have caused an acute lack of small currency locally and we can only assume that Series 14 was overstruck on the earlier series and put in circulation immediately, in order to remedy this problem. Almost all coins display careless striking and originate from a relatively small number of dies, facts which suggest that the coins were struck very quickly. In particular there does not seem to have been any attempt to prepare the flans in the usual way by first obliterating the types of the coins that were to be used as flans for the new coinage (for examples of this, see the illustrations of coins of Series 14 in Pl. I; details of the undertypes are so clear that they have been included in the description of the coins in the catalogues at the end of the chapter).

A study of the dies of these coins points to the same conclusion; there was extensive sharing of the obverse dies between different moneyers, though, interestingly enough, this

¹⁶⁸ The Chian leaders seem to have been particularly loathed by Alexander and their fellow citizens in the opposing camp. Alexander in his *1st Letter to the Chians*, lines 10-15, orders extreme measures to be taken against them; on this topic see the discussion by Heisserer, 1973, pp. 79-111. Arrian 3. 2. 7. records how Alexander showed mercy and freed many of the captive Greek pro-Persian leaders brought to him; he only punished the Chian leaders by sending them in exile, and under guard, to the island of Elephantine in upper Egypt. At least the Chians escaped a worse fate which befell their comrades at Ephesus. These also had been taken prisoners by the Macedonians after fierce fighting, and on the understanding that their lives would be spared. However soon after their surrender they were lynched by a mob of their own fellow citizens. Arrian states that the massacre so horrified the Macedonian troops that they fought a pitched battle with the crowd to try to save the life of the few survivors.

¹⁶⁹ Hardwick, 1991, p. 220, records 22 specimens of series 13a and 13b, most of which originate from the Pithyos hoard. The few other coins from the same series that belong to the coin collections of the British Museum and the Bibliotheque Nationale could also have originated from the same hoard.

¹⁷⁰ Maurogordato, 1916, p. 282 considers the mint at Chios closed between c. 334 and 301 BC; accordingly, he dated Series 13a and 13b (his type no. 55), Series 14 (his type no. 56a), Series 15 (his type no. 56β) and Series 16 (his type no. 56γ) to the period c 301-190 BC, see pp. 282-6. Hardwick 1991, dated Series 14 to the last quarter of the 4th century BC.

seems to have been restricted to one pair at a time since no more than two individuals share the same single obverse die.¹⁷¹ Different issues sharing the same obverse dies also have reverse dies of similar style -though not shared reverse dies- that seem to have been produced by the same die engraver. In all likelihood we have here a case of two moneyers issuing coinage together and certainly the obverse dies were not kept over a long period of time but used regularly in different issues.

The composition of hoard IGCH1306, Chios c1909, suggests that issues of Series 14 circulated for some time alongside later issues since it includes a number of coins of this series together with two coins from the succeeding one (Series 15). Issues of Series 14 were probably still circulating during the early decades of the 3rd century BC, since a few of these were used as flans for striking the earliest issues belonging to Series 17, the main bronze issue for Chios during the 3rd century BC, (see pp. 116-194). The introduction of this later series may have finally caused the withdrawal of the remaining coins of Series 14 still circulating at the time. This is suggested by the fact that none of the coins of the later issues of Series 17 show traces of an undertype belonging to an issue of Series 14, and no coins of Series 14 are found hoarded together with coins of Series 17.

6. Epigraphic evidence: Three of the moneyers in charge of this coinage have names which are also found in Chian inscriptions dating approximately to the same period as the coin issues, the late 4th century BC. The name ΑΓΓΕΛΗΣ, inscribed on one of the issues, was fairly common in Chios during the early Hellenistic period and remained so down to the early Roman period. No less than nine different individuals with this name are recorded in inscriptions that can be securely dated within the period under consideration. Of these

¹⁷¹ Die 1: ΑΓΓΕΛΗΣ, fig. 4 - ΕΡΜΩΝΑΞ, fig. 6. Die 2: ΑΓΓΕΛΗΣ, fig. 1 - ΧΙΡΩΝ, Munich coin cabinet, not illustrated. Die 3: ΦΙΛΤΗΣ, fig. 18 and ΕΡΜΩΝΑΞ fig. 12; ΦΙΛΤΗΣ, fig. 16 - ΕΡΜΩΝΑΞ fig. 9

individuals the most important seems to have been the holder of the office of *agonothetes*, who proposed honours for ΝΙΚΟΜΗΔΗΣ of Cos, an advisor of Antigonos Monophthalmus in the period c. 318-5 BC.¹⁷² The father of another magistrate of Chios, but with an unspecified title or office, was named ΑΓΓΕΛΗΣ and must have lived in the second half of the 4th century BC; the inscription recording the name of his son is dated after c. 300 BC.¹⁷³ The same also applies for the father of the individual who paid for a dedicatory inscription to Artemis soon after 300 BC, and whose name is also recorded as ΑΓΓΕΛΗΣ.¹⁷⁴

A long inscription with a catalogue of the names of members of the Chian ‘faction’ of the ΤΟΤΕΙΑΔΕΣ dating c. 300 BC,¹⁷⁵ includes two different contemporary individuals of the name ΑΓΓΕΛΗΣ.¹⁷⁶ A father and son of this same name appear in another inscription of the period alongside the names of individuals contributing money towards the cost of an unknown project.¹⁷⁷ The name ΑΓΓΕΛΗΣ is also recorded in three published gravestones dating between the late 4th and early 3rd century BC.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷² For all references and proposed dates of this inscription see the historical background, p. 19 ; for this individual of the name ΑΓΓΕΛΗΣ see Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, no 55, p. 7. The date of 318-315 BC is proposed in SEG 18, (1962), no. 333, based on the date of inscriptions of other Greek cities honouring Nikomedes at the time. Nothing is known in literary sources about this individual but the honorary decrees of the Greek cities attest to an important political figure at the court of Antigonos (see the relevant discussion in the historical background, *ibid*).

¹⁷³ ΑΓΓΕΛΗΣ father of ...Ι...ΛΩ.; Sarikakis, no 58, p 7, with proposed date. The inscription is unpublished and has, inventory no. 453 of the Archaeological Museum of Chios.

¹⁷⁴ ΑΓΓΕΛΗΣ father of ΦΑΙΝΟΜΕΝΟΣ; GIC 2227; SGDI 5668; ABSA 58, 1963, 60, no 12; Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, no. 57, p. 7

¹⁷⁵ The inscription is published and discussed in Αθηνά 1908, 205; Forrest, 1960, pp. 181-7; SEG 19, (1963), n. 580; Forrest has included the inscription in Appendix A of his article and dates the names on surface A of the slab and Col I to the late 4th or early 3rd century BC.

¹⁷⁶ ΑΓΓΕΛΗΣ son of ΖΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ; appears in Col I, line 30; Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, no 75, p. 9. The other individual is ΑΓΓΕΛΗΣ son of ..ΙΛ..Ε., Col I, line 53; Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, no. 76, p. 9.

¹⁷⁷ ΑΓΓΕΛΗΣ son of ΑΓΓΕΛΗΣ and adoptive son of ΤΙΜΟΛΥΚΟΣ; Αθηνά 1908, 204, no 7; Plasart-Picard, BCH 57, 1912, p. 214, no 27; Sarikakis, no 69, p 8. The date for the inscription is proposed by Plasart-Picard and was upheld by Sarikakis.

¹⁷⁸ The first gravestone is inscribed with the name ΑΓΓΕΛΗΣ son of ΠΑΡΜΕΝΙΩΝ; first published by Kourouniotis, 1916, p. 215; L. Robert, BCH 57, 1933; Sarikakis, no 79, p 10. The second one with ΑΓΓΕΛΗΣ father of ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ; published in SEG 15, (1958), no 540; Sarikakis, no 53, p. 7. The third one with ΑΓΓΕΛΗΣ son of ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΗΣ; first published by Zolotas, 1908, pp. 212, no 11; L. Robert, BCH 57, 1933, p 508; Sarikakis, p. 12, no 73, p. 9.

The patronymics of these names are all different making it clear that they represent different individuals. Unfortunately names on Chian coins of this period do not carry the patronymic and so it is impossible to identify with certainty the moneyer ΑΓΓΕΛΗΣ with any of the above namesakes. However on the whole it seems that the magistrate with the title of *agonothetes* is the more likely to be identified with his namesake moneyer, for we can place with certainty his political activity during the same period when the coin issue bearing his name was struck.

Another moneyer in charge of an issue of Series 14 whose name appears in inscriptions of the period is ΦΙΑΤΗΣ. However in contrast to ΑΓΓΕΛΗΣ this was an uncommon name for a Chian¹⁷⁹ found only in two inscriptions, both of an early Hellenistic date, and not thereafter. A member of the ΤΟΤΕΙΔΕΣ faction was named ΦΙΑΤΗΣ¹⁸⁰ and so was an individual whose name is recorded on a gravestone, dating at the end of the 4th century or the beginning of the 3rd century BC. The latter's father also bore this name¹⁸¹ offering us the opportunity to propose links between individuals recorded in this inscription and namesake moneyers of the same period.

As we saw ΦΙΑΤΗΣ is a rare name at Chios and since the son was named after his father it is likely that it could have been a family name. A moneyer of the name ΦΙΑΤΗΣ struck a small bronze issue dating to the second quarter of the 4th century BC, and therefore approximately three to four decades prior to the namesake issue of Series 14 (Hardwick, 1991, Series 12, dating c. 375-350 BC). He is therefore at least one generation older than the moneyer of Series 14 and chronology shows that he could have been the latter's father. In this

¹⁷⁹ Contra Sarikakis, *Ανεκδοτοι Χιακαί Επιγραφαι* ('Unpublished Chian Inscriptions', in Greek), *Χιακά Χρονικά* 21 (1991), pp. 14-21, p. 12 who considers this a common name at Chios. However the available evidence, collected and presented in his *Chian Prosopography*, p. 458, does not support this claim. As we saw above, the name only appears twice in inscriptions of the 3rd century BC and disappears thereafter.

¹⁸⁰ ΦΙΑΤΗΣ son of ΠΟΣΕΙΔΙΠΠΟΣ: appears in Col I, line 31 of the inscription; Sarikakis, no 157, p. 458.

¹⁸¹ ΦΙΑΤΗΣ son of ΦΙΑΤΗΣ; Sarikakis, 1991, pp. 14-21, no 12, with proposed date.

case he may be identified with ΦΙΑΤΗΣ senior, whose name is recorded in the above inscription as the patronymic, while the son commemorated in the inscription, may be the moneyer of Series 14.

During the Hellenistic period it is fairly common for the same name, however rare, to appear on different issues dating a few decades apart. This gap of more than a generation may indicate a possible family connection between the namesake moneyers and this aspect of the coinage is discussed in pp. 622-3, in the chapter on coin typology.

A similar relationship seems to have existed between the moneyer ΑΣΜΕΝΟΣ, whose name appears on the hemichalkous issue, and his namesake moneyer who issued silver coinage in the late Classical period (Maurogordato series 46; Hardwick, 1993, pp. 219-220). This idea is further strengthened by the fact that the name ΑΣΜΕΝΟΣ is not found in any known Chian inscriptions showing that it was very rare at Chios. Another name attested in inscriptions of early Hellenistic Chios and also reputedly found on an issue of Series 14, is that of ΦΙΑΩΝ a relatively common name during this period.¹⁸² There is no clear evidence for attempting to link this moneyer with any particular namesake individual recorded in an inscription.

7. Archaeological finds: Not a single coin from these issues has been found in the context of an archaeological excavation outside the island of Chios and it seems that their circulation was restricted on Chios since only a limited quantity of coinage was produced. A coin in the name of ΑΓΓΕΛΗΣ was found in the village of Mirmigi of Chios and was shown to

¹⁸² The name appears in an inscription dated in the late 4th century BC as father of ΣΥΜΜΑΧΟΣ; SEG 17, (1960), no 398; W. Forrest, 'The inscriptions of South-east Chios, II,' ABSA 59 (1964), pp. 32-38, p 38; Sarikakis, no. 161, p. 459. In another inscription of the 4th century BC as son of ΘΕΡΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ; Zolotas, 1908, 213, no 11, lines 12-13; Sarikakis, no 170, p. 459. An inscription with a catalogue of names generally dating between the 4th century and c. 200 BC: son of ΦΑΤΗΡΟΣ; Euangelides, 29, no 14, line 4; Sarikakis, no 160, p 459. Dunst, 1958, p. 171, f. 3 proposes a 4th century BC date for this inscription, while Fraser and Mathews, 'Lexicon', date it c 200 BC.

archaeologists together with a Hellenistic terracota head (Hunt, 1940-5, p. 36). Both artifacts seem to come from the same ancient site but there is no evidence that they were found in the same level.

SERIES 14 c 330-20 [M. 56a]

Type 14.I 18.00-16.00 mm

Obv: sphinx seated to the l.

Rev: amphora in the centre, name of moneyer in field to the r. and ethnic legend XIOΣ in field to the l.

Trichalkon av. weight: 3.69g

Moneyer: ΑΓΓΕΛΗΣ

London:

B. M.:

M. 1949-4-11, no 868; 4.00g, 12; ΑΓΓΕΛ[ΗΣ], overstr. on issue of 13a

A. 1914; 3.75g, 10; ΑΓΓΕ[ΛΗΣ], overstr. on issue of 13b

M. 1949-4-11, no 869; 3.37g, 7; ΑΓΓΕΛΗΣ, overstr. on earlier unidentified issue. **fig. 1**

M. 1949-4-11, no 870; 3.72g, 12; ΑΓΓΕΛΗΣ, overstr. on issue of 13b. **fig. 2**

K. c.:

no. 82; 3.64g, 11; ΑΓΓΕΛ[ΗΣ], overstr. on earlier, unidentified, issue

Oxford.

A. M.:

M. 1930 ex Sotheby. M. lot 289; 3.57g, 11; ΑΓΓΕΛΗ[Σ], overstr. on issue of 13a

Ex Baldwin. M. lot 44 1949; 3.90g, 8; ΑΓΓΕΛΗ[Σ], overstr. on earlier, unidentified, issue. **fig. 3**

Ex Baldwin. M. lot 44 1949; 4.15g, 1; ΑΓΓΕ[ΛΗΣ], overstr. on earlier, unidentified, issue

Ex Baldwin. M. lot 44 1949; 3.45g, 5; ΑΓΓΕΛΗΣ, overstr. on issue of 13a

Athens.

N. M.:

IGCH 1306:

no 1; 3.54g, 11; [Α]ΓΓΕΛΗΣ, overstr. on issue of 13b. Traces of letters of undertype HP.....H.

no 2; 3.49g, 11; [Α]ΓΓΕΛΗΣ, overstr. on issue of 13b. Traces of letters of undertype ΑΓΑ.

no 3; 4.33g, 11; ΑΓΓΕΛΗΣ, overstr. on earlier, unidentified, issue. **fig. 4**

no 4; 3.35g, 5; ΑΓΓΕΛΗΣ, overstr. on issue of 13b. Traces of letters of undertype ΛΗ

Superior stamp and coin auction-part 2, June 1974

no. 246; ΑΓΓΕΛ[ΗΣ], overstruck

Issues known from undertypes:

Cambridge.

F. M.:

M. c. Coin of Series 17 of the moneyer ΑΡΓΕΙΟΣ is overstruck on issue of 14 with traces of name of moneyer ΑΓΓΕΛΗΣ].

3.68g , die axis of the undertype is not clear.

Moneyer: ΕΡΜΩΝΑΞ

London

B. M.:

M. 1949-4-11, no 871; 3.43g, 11; ΕΡΜ[Ω]ΝΑ[Ξ], overstr. on issue of 13b. **fig. 5**

M. 1949-4-11, no 873; 3.51g, 12; [Ε]ΡΜΩΝΑΞ, overstr. on earlier, unidentified, issue. **fig. 6**

M. 1949-4-11, no 874; 5.00 g, 3; [ΕΡ]ΜΩΝΑ[Ξ], overstr. on earlier issue

A. 1914; 3.80g, 12; [Ε]ΡΜΩΝΑΞ, overstr. on issue of 13b. **fig. 7**

K. c.:

no 605; 3.49g, 11; [ΕΡΜΩ]ΝΑΞ, overstr. on earlier, unidentified, issue

Oxford

A. M.:
M. 1947; 3.10g, 12; EPMΩNA[Ξ], overstr. on earlier, unidentified, issue
M. 1930 ex Sotheby's Maur. lot 289; 4.61g, 6; EPMΩNA[Ξ], overstr. on earlier, unidentified, issue. **fig. 8**

Durham

L. c. 1995:
3.20g, 12; EPMΩNAΞ, overstr. on earlier, unidentified, issue. Results of XRF: 67% cu and 30% sb

Athens

N. M.:
IGCH 1306:
no 5; 3.38g, 11; [E]PΜΩNAΞ, overstr. on issue of 13b. Traces of letters of the undertype ΑΓΑ. **fig. 9**
no 6; 3.64g, 12; [E]PΜΩNA[Ξ], overstr. on issue of 13b
no 7; 4.96g, 12; [E]PΜΩNAΞ, overstr. on issue of 13b
no 8; 3.72g, 11; EPMΩN[ΑΞ], overstr. on earlier unidentified issue of Series 13
no 9; 4.25g, 11; EPMΩNA[Ξ], overstr. on issue of 13b. Traces of letters of the undertype ΚΟ. **fig. 10**

Paris

B. N.:
L. c. no 488; 3.45g, 12; [EP]MΩN[ΑΞ], overstr. on earlier, unidentified, issue.

Munich

M. K.:
no 28435; 3.21g, 6; EPMΩN[ΑΞ]. **fig. 11**

Berlin

M. K.:
I.B. 1900; 3.14g, 12; EPMΩN[ΑΞ]. **fig. 12**

Moneyer: ΦΑΝΟΔΙΚΟΣ

London

B. M.:
R 1914; 3.54g, 5; [ΦΑΝ]ΟΔΙΚΟ[Σ], overstr. on earlier, unidentified, issue. **fig. 13**
M. 1949-4-11, no 867; 3.65g, 11; ΦΑΝΟΔΙΚΟ[Σ]. **fig. 14**

Moneyer: ΦΙΑΘΗΣ

London

B. M.:
A. 1914; 4.80g, 12; ΦΙΑΘΗΣ, overstr. on issue of 13a
A. 1914; 4.33g, 12; [ΦΙ]ΑΘΗΣ, overstr. on issue of 13b. Traces of letters of undertype read [ΔΙ]ΟΣΚΟΥ[ΡΟΣ] . **fig. 15**
M. 1949, 4-11-872; 3.70g, 12; ΦΙΑΘΗΣ, overstr. on earlier unidentified issue of Series 13
M. 1949, 4-11-875; 12; ΦΙΑΘΗΣ, overstr. on earlier unidentified issue of Series 13

K. c.:
no 788; 3.71g, 11; ΦΙΙΑΘΗΣ, overstr. on earlier, unidentified, issue. **fig. 16**
no 592; 3.17g, 4; [ΦΙ]ΑΘΗΣ, double struck. **fig. 17**

Oxford

A. M.:

Ex N. C. c.: 3.32g, 6; ΦΙΑΤΗ[Σ], overstr. on earlier, unidentified, issue
Ex Bald. M. lot 44 1949; 4.16g, 6; [ΦΙ]ΑΤΗ[Σ], overstr. on issue of 13b
R. ; 3.94g, 5; ΦΙΑΤΗΣ , overstr. on issue of 13b

Athens

N. M.:

K. 1903-4 B'; 2.94g, 5; ΦΙΑΤΗ[Σ], overstr. on earlier, unidentified, issue.
1911-12; 2.74g, 5; ΦΙΑΤ[ΗΣ], overstr. on issue of 13b

IGCH 1306:

no 10; 4.29g, 12; ΦΙΑΤΗΣ, overstr. on issue of 13b.

no 11; 3.92g, 12; [Φ]ΙΑΤΗΣ, overstr. on issue of 13b. **fig. 18**

Chios; private collection. c 1900 ¹⁸³

Maurogordato [NC 1916, p 287] mentions a coin of ΦΙΑΤΗΣ overstruck on a 13b issue with name ΖΗΝΩΝ, in a private collection in the town of Chios.

Paris

B. N.:

no 3127; 3.24g, 12; ΦΙΑΤΗΣ, overstr. on earlier, unidentified, issue

Munich

M. K.:

no - 3.20g, 12; ΦΙΑΤΗΣ, corroded

Reichmann Lagerkatalog, May 1920

no. 820

Moneyer: ΦΙΑΩΝ

Munich

M. K.: c. 1900

weight not recorded, 12. Maurogordato, 1916, p 287, records this issue of Series 14 with the name ΦΙΑΩΝ in the Munich Cabinet No such coin exists in that collection nowadays.

Moneyer: ΧΙΡΩΝ

London

B. M.:

A. 1914; 4.08g, 6; [ΧΙ]ΡΩΝ, overstr. on issue of 13b. **fig. 19**

A. 1914; 4.08g, 12; ΧΙΡΩΝ, overstr. on earlier, unidentified, issue

M. 1949, 4-11-876; 3.18g, 12; ΧΙΡΩΝ, overstr. on issue of 13a. **fig. 20**

M. 1949, 4-11-877; 3.40g, 1; [Χ]ΙΡΩΝ , overstr. on earlier, unidentified, issue

M. 1949, 4-11-878; 3.58g, 5; ΧΙΡ[ΩΝ], overstr. on issue 13b

M. 1949, 4-11-879; 3.38g, 5; ΧΙΡΩΝ, overstr. on issue of 13a. Traces of letters of the undertype read ΑΑΝΔ..

K. c.:

no 302; 3.65g, 11; ΧΙΡΩΝ, overstr. on earlier, unidentified, issue

no 325; 3.97g, 6; ΧΙΡΩΝ, overstr. on earlier, unidentified, issue

Oxford

A. M.:

M. 1930 ex Soth. M. lot 289; 3.90g, 6; [Χ]ΙΡ[ΩΝ], overstruck on previous issue. **fig. 21**

Ex Baldwin M. lot 44 1949; 3.76g, 12; [Χ]ΙΡΩΝ . overstruck on issue of 13b

Athens

¹⁸³ Coins from this collection are frequently mentioned by Maurogordato. No such collection exists now and according to reliable information it seems to have been dispersed around the time of World War I.

N. M.:
IGCH 1306:
no 12; 3.46g, 6; XIPΩN, overstr. on issue of 13b. Traces of letters of undertype ...ΩN
no 13; 3.70g, 12; XIPΩN, overstr. on issue of 13b. **fig. 22**
no 14; 3.83g, 6; XIP[ΩN], overstr. on issue of 13b. Traces of letters of undertype ...ΩN.

Vienna

K. M.:
no 34612; 4.02g, 6; XIPΩN, overstr. on issue of 13a. **fig. 23**¹⁸⁴

Munich

M. K.:
no 28436; 3.32g, 12; XIPΩN, overstr. on earlier, unidentified, issue

Berlin

M.K.:
S. 1876; 2.54g, 12; XIPΩN, corroded

Hirsch Auct. Cata. Nov. 1983:
no 6340; [X]IPΩN, overstr. on earlier, unidentified, issue

Holleman Musten (Netherlands), List 93, Jan 1993
no. 28; XIP[ΩN], overstruck

Cederlind, List 97, Winter 1993
no. 111; XIPΩN, overstruck on an issue of 13a

Issues known from undertypes

London

K. c.:
Coin no 751 of Series 17 with name of moneyer ΙΚΕΣΙΟΣ is overstruck on a coin of Series 14 with traces of the name of the moneyer [X]IPΩN, 4.13g, die axis of undertype uncertain.

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:
Coin no 1564 of Series 17, an issue of moneyer ΑΡΓΕΙΟΣ, is overstruck on issue of XIPΩN. Traces of letters of undertype read [XIP]ΩN. 3.85g, die axis of undertype unclear.

Type 14.II (Denomination not recorded by Maurogordato) 12.00 mm

Chalkous

Types as above.

Moneyer: ΦΙΛΤΗΣ

London

B. M.:
M. 1949, 4-11-866; 0.98g, 9; [Φ]ΙΛΤΗ[Σ]. **fig. 24**

Type 14.III [M. 58a] 9.00 mm

Chalkous or hemichalkous

¹⁸⁴ Maurogordato, 1916, p. 287, has wrongly identified this as an issue of Series 15

Types as above

Moneyer: ΑΣΜΕΝΟΣ

Athens

N. M.

no 5507 B'; 0.86g , 1; ΑΣΜΕΝΟΣ. **fig. 25**

II. 2. BRONZE SERIES 15 (Pl. II)

1. General aspects: Issues of Series 15 are distinguished from those of the preceding series from a small symbol representing a bunch of grapes appearing beside the sphinx on the obverse type. After a lapse of over fifty years the sphinx is once again associated with the bunch of grapes, which last appeared in this position on bronze issues dating to the second quarter of the 4th century.¹⁸⁵ In all other aspects, issues of Series 15 are very similar to those of Series 14 since the same types have been used on the obverse and reverse. A common style is also evident in the engraving of the amphora and sphinx, and the letter forms in the legends are identical. The two series are also linked by issues of a common moneyer (discussed in detail below), and show the same variety in the range of the die axis. These features clearly suggest that issues of Series 14 were quickly followed by those of Series 15, since it seems that the same die engravers were employed in both coinages.

Known coins of Series 15 are of a slightly smaller module (17-15mm) compared with most coins of the trichalkon of Series 14, but their average weight at 4.20g (19 coins) makes them close to half a gram heavier than the average for issues of Series 14. This discrepancy in the module and weight may be attributed to the difference in the source of metal used for the two issues. It seems that issues of Series 15 were struck from a new source of metal as they are never found overstruck on earlier issues of Chios, as was the case for issues of Series 14. The small difference in the weight and the module of the coins is unlikely to have had an effect on their token value and the denomination of these issues almost certainly would have been that of the trichalkon. All of the known coins of this series are of this denomination and no fractions have been identified.

¹⁸⁵ Hardwick, 1993, p. 220, series 12, with a date of issue c 375-350 BC.

The available evidence seems to indicate that issues of Series 15 were struck as a supplementary coinage to Series 14. In other words this series may have been a continuation of the earlier coinage with the only difference being that it was struck on new flans -not on earlier coinage, as had been the case for Series 14- and after all the available coinage of Series 13 had already been overstruck with types of Series 14. This change in the source of metal may be indicated by the minor typological addition of the grape symbol as part of the basic types.

On the whole coins of Series 15 are very rare, and much more so than those of Series 14. Some twenty coins are known bearing the names of five moneyers, ΕΡΜΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ, ΙΣΤΙΑΙΟΣ, ΘΕΟΔΩΤΟΣ, ΦΑΝΟΔΙΚΟΣ, and ΚΛΕΙΤΩΝ.¹⁸⁶ Two of the coins in the Athens Numismatic Museum formed part of the IGCH 1306 hoard, and the coins in Istanbul almost certainly originate from a single hoard.¹⁸⁷

2. Proposed dating: As we saw a number of common features shared between issues belonging to Series 14 and 15 suggest that they were struck successively. The existence of a common moneyer for both series and the composition of hoard IGCH 1306, which included coins from both Series 14 and 15 (see below), provide us with further strong evidence that the series are indeed near contemporary and that their circulation overlapped. We have already considered as a date of issue for Series 14 the decade 330-320 BC, and this would suggest that issues of Series 15 were struck during the last quarter of the 4th century BC.

¹⁸⁶ A further five specimens of Series 15 have become known from undertypes of later issues belonging to Series 17, though it has not been possible to classify all of these under their respective moneyer. Maurogordato also records a few more specimens that were in the possession of individuals on Chios in the early part of this century but which have long since been lost. The issue in the name ΚΛΕΙΤΩΝ was recorded by Whitte, 1838, no. 323, who published a drawing showing a coin with identical types with issues of Series 15. This particular coin was already lost by the turn of the century when Maurogordato began his study, but is included in this study's catalogue on account of Whitte's detailed drawing and the fact that Kanellakis, 1912, p. 105, and Maurogordato, 1916, both refer to such a coin in a private coin collection at Chios (which is today untraceable). I have included a copy of the drawing by Whitte in this study, Pl. II, 'Series 15', fig. A.

¹⁸⁷ Coins of Series 15 and 16 in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum are recorded by Hardwick, 1991, 'catalogue no. 15', pp. 293-4.

The moneyer ΦΑΝΟΔΙΚΟΣ signed coins belonging to both series. Most known coins bearing this name, irrespective of series, share the same *reverse* die,¹⁸⁸ making it therefore almost certain that a single individual was involved in both issues, and not two different moneyers that happened to be namesakes. The name also happens to be very rare (Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 442) and it is therefore unlikely to represent two contemporary individuals. The use of the same reverse die in issues of different coin series indicates that some of the coins were struck together or within a short period of time. It would seem that this moneyer was in charge of the coinage when the change in the obverse type occurred,¹⁸⁹ showing a rapid transition from the one series to the other. Coins of Series 15 found in hoard IGCH 1306 are of a similar state of preservation as those of Series 14 from the same hoard. All this evidence strongly supports the idea that issues Series 14 may not have been circulating long before the introduction of Series 15.

3. Die studies: A number of obverse dies were shared extensively for issues of different moneyers of Series 15.¹⁹⁰ Some of these issues have also been struck with reverse dies that are stylistically similar. Details such as the amphora and the letters of the coin legends are close enough in style to show that the same die engraver must have made most of the dies for different moneyers. It is also possible that some of these dies were actually produced by a single ‘master’ die by the process known as *hubbing* and that only the names of the individual

¹⁸⁸ Compare the reverse die of the issue belonging to Series 14, illustrated in Pl. I figs. 13-14, with the reverse die of the issue of Series 15 signed with the same name, illustrated in Pl. II, fig. 15.

¹⁸⁹ Maurogordato, 1916, p. 287 and p. 292, includes in this series (his types 13b) an issue in the name of ΧΙΡΩΝ. This was based on his study of a coin in the coin cabinet of the Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum signed by this moneyer, which he believed to show a bunch of grapes on the obverse next to the sphinx. Actually he had mistaken traces of the leaves of a vine wreath, forming part of an undertype of an issue of series 13a or 13b, for the bunch of grapes. The coin in question is an issue of series 14 (see the illustration in Pl. I, fig. 23) and this leaves ΦΑΝΟΔΙΚΟΣ as the only moneyer who was in charge of issues for both Series 14 and 15.

¹⁹⁰ Issues signed by different moneyers but using the same obverse die:

1st common die: ΦΑΝΟΔΙΚΟΣ (fig. 13)-ΘΕΟΔΟΤΟΣ (fig. 6); 2nd common die: ΘΕΟΔΟΤΟΣ, (fig. 7)-

ΕΡΜΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ, (fig. 1); 3rd common die: ΘΕΟΔΟΤΟΣ (fig. 5)-ΙΣΤΙΑΙΟΣ (fig. 9); 4th common die: ΘΕΟΔΟΤΟΣ

(fig. 8)-ΙΣΤΙΑΙΟΣ (fig. 12). For a listing of die studies in this series see the coin catalogue at the end of the chapter

moneyers were then cut into the new dies.¹⁹¹ The relative sequence of the issues is also evident from the types of the respective reverse dies. We have established that ΦΑΝΟΔΙΚΟΣ was the first to strike in the series, and this would suggest that he was succeeded by ΘΕΟΔΟΤΟΣ, since both these moneyers share two common obverse dies and also show two reverse dies that are identical in style.¹⁹² Another reverse die of ΘΕΟΔΟΤΟΣ (fig. 3) is similar in style with reverse dies used for issues of ΙΣΤΙΑΙΟΣ (fig. 9) and ΕΡΜΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ (fig. 1) suggesting that the latter may have struck their issues following those of ΘΕΟΔΟΤΟΣ.

Only four obverse dies were used for this series (see the die study included in the coin catalogue at the end of the chapter). In light of the limited number of dies used, the small number of moneyers involved, the extensive die sharing of obverse dies between different moneyers and stylistic similarity of the reverse dies, it is probable that the issues may have been struck during a brief period. Notwithstanding the fact that different moneyers shared the same obverse dies, three coins of ΙΣΤΙΑΙΟΣ, out of a total of five known, were struck from the same reverse dies,¹⁹³ while three coins of ΘΕΟΔΟΤΟΣ, out of a total of nine coins known, were also struck from one reverse die (see the listing of dies in the coin catalogue). It is impossible to calculate even the approximate number of ancient coins struck from a number of known dies, but we can judge the volume of a coinage from the number of surviving dies.¹⁹⁴ On this ground it is safe to say that the total coin output for Series 15 was very small and this coinage would only have had a minor impact on the local coin circulation. The reason behind the issue

¹⁹¹ On the process of this minting technique during the Hellenistic period, see Morkholm, 1991, p. 14, who believes that it was not widespread in the Hellenistic world and that identical designs could have been made separately by the same die engraver.

¹⁹² The reverse die of ΦΑΝΟΔΙΚΟΣ, illustrated in fig. 13, is identical in style with ΘΕΟΔΟΤΟΣ of fig. 6; the same also applies for the reverse die of ΦΑΝΟΔΙΚΟΣ, illustrated in fig. 15, with ΘΕΟΔΟΤΟΣ of fig. 7.

¹⁹³ The other two coins may also have been struck by the same reverse die but the surfaces are not clear.

¹⁹⁴ For the latest contributions to the discussion on the use of die studies in estimating the size and volume of the coin output of mints during antiquity, see T. V. Buttrey, 'Calculating ancient coin production: facts and fantasies', NC 153 (1993), pp. 335-52; Idem, 'Calculating ancient coin production II: why it cannot be done', NC 154 (1994), pp. 341-352; F. DeCallatay, 'Calculating ancient coin production: seeking a balance', NC 155 (1995), pp. 289-312.

of this particular coinage is not clear. It could hardly have fulfilled its primary function as base metal money, in other words to cover, any small expenses of the state and the need of the population for low value currency. This evidence produced from the study of the dies seems to support the theory that Series 15 was probably struck as a supplementary issue for Series 14 that were already in circulation. Only few of these coins survive, of which none has a recorded provenance outside Chios.

4. Epigraphic evidence: ΘΕΟΔΟΤΟΣ was moneyer in charge of an issue of Series 15 and this name is found in a catalogue of names appearing in a Chian inscription of the early 3rd century BC.¹⁹⁵ Most other names in this catalogue are identical to those of moneyers who signed successive issues struck shortly after those of Series 15 (Series 16-17, see below for these series). Some of the names found in common in the above inscription and issues are rare -this also applies for the name considered here, ΘΕΟΔΟΤΟΣ, which was particularly rare at Chios during the early Hellenistic period¹⁹⁶ - suggesting that the individuals attested epigraphically may be identified with their namesake moneyers. In such case this inscription may well stand for a record of moneyers in charge of successive issues of Chios.¹⁹⁷ To my knowledge there

¹⁹⁵ First published by A. Stefanou in 'Η λατρεία της Αρτέμιδος εις Χιον' ('The cult of Artemis in Chios'), *Ζηνων* 28, April 1963, p. 145-159, p. 151. Stefanou failed to record the name ΘΕΟΔΟΤΟΣ in his transcription of the inscription, but it is clearly visible in line 8 in the photograph of the inscription accompanying his article. This name was also recorded by Forrest, 1963, p. 76, in his discussion of the inscription; Forrest also proposed a date in the early 3rd century BC for the inscription based on its letter forms.

¹⁹⁶ The name only appears once in an inscription dating between the late 4th and early 3rd centuries BC; Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 221, no. 41, ΘΕΥΔΟΤΟΣ son of ΣΙΜ...

¹⁹⁷ For the importance of this inscription as a possible record of officials in charge of coin issues, see the chapter on typology, p. 622. For further moneyers named in it see the discussion of the epigraphic evidence for issues of Series 16, Series I of Chian Attic drachms, and Series 17, Group B. Stefanou reconstructed the first line of this inscription as [ΑΘΗ]ΝΑΙ[ΟΙ] and considered it as a catalogue of Athenian residents at Chios. This claim has since been dismissed by Forrest, 1963, p. 76, and Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 473, no. 18, who consider this legend to be the name of an individual and proposed different restorations. In particular, Forrest noted that the names ΠΟΛΙΑΝΘΟΣ and ΚΗΦΙΣΟΚΡΙΤΟΣ, which are included in this inscription and are extremely rare names throughout Greece, not attested in any recorded inscriptions of Attica, but are found in other Chian inscriptions of the same period as the above inscription (references to individuals recorded in inscriptions of Attica, see *The British Academy, A Lexicon of Greek names*, Vol I, *Attica*, ed. P. M. Frazer and E. Mathews, Oxford, 1987).

is no other occurrence of a moneyer's name from Series 15 in a Chian inscription that is dated approximately in the same period as this series.

SERIES 15 c 320-300 [M. 56b]

17.00-15.00 mm

Obv: sphinx seated to the l, large bunch of grapes in front.
Rev: amphora, name of moneyer in field to the r, ethnic XIOΣ in field to the l.

Trichalkon av. weight 4.2g

Moneyer: ΕΡΜΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ

Istanbul

A. M.:
no 6901; 3.65g, 8; ΕΡΜΟΣΤΡΑ[ΤΟΣ]; obverse Die no. 1. **fig. 1**

Colosseum coin exchange, mail bid auction, Feb. 1989
no. 21; ΕΡΜΟΣΤΡΑΤ[ΟΣ]

Chios, dealer's stock c 1900
Maurogordato, 1916, p 287, records a coin of this type in a dealer's stock at Chios; possibly the same as the coin above

Moneyer: ΘΕΟΔΩΤΟΣ

London

B. M.:
M. 1949-4-11, no 880; 4.59g, 5; ΘΕΟΔΩΤΟΣ; overstr. on unidentified and non Chian issue; obverse Die no. 2. **fig. 2**
M. 1949-4-11, no 881; 5.76g, 5; ΘΕΟΔΩΤ[ΟΣ] ; obverse Die no. 1, reverse Die no. 1. **fig. 3**

Oxford

A. M.:
Ex Baldwin M. lot 44 1949; 4.36g, 7; ΘΕΟΔΩ[ΤΟΣ]; obverse Die no. 1, reverse Die no. 2. **fig. 4**

Athens

N. M.
IGCH 1306:
no 15; 3.80g, 3; ΘΕΟΔΩΤ[ΟΣ] ; obverse Die no. 1, reverse Die no. 3. **fig. 5**
no 16; 5.29g, 9; [ΘΕ]ΩΔΩΤ[ΟΣ] ; obverse Die no. 3, reverse Die no. 2. **fig. 6**

Istanbul

A. M.:
no 6906; 4.05g, 5; ΘΕΟΔΩΤ[ΟΣ]; obverse Die no. 1 or 3, reverse Die no. 3. **fig. 7**

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:
no. 1556, V. L. 1895; 3.72g, 5; ΘΕΟΔΩΤΟΣ; obverse Die no. 1, reverse Die no. 1

Munich

M. K.:
no 28432; 3.40g, 9; ΘΕΟΔΩ[ΤΟΣ]; obverse Die no. 3, reverse Die no. 2

Hirsch Auct. Cat. Nov. 1990:
no 276; ΘΕΟΔΩΤ[ΟΣ] obverse Die no. 4, reverse Die no. 1. **fig. 8**

Issue known from undertype

Athens

N. M.:

IGCH 1337:

no 33 of Series 17 an issue of the moneyer ΘΑΛΕΜΑΧΟΣ has been overstruck on a coin of ΘΕΟΔΩΤΟΣ.

Moneyer: ΙΣΤΙΑΙΟΣ

London

B. M.

M. 1921; 4-14-1; 4.33g, 3; ΙΣΤΙΑΙΟΣ; overstr. on issue of 13a or 13b; obverse Die no. 4. **fig. 9**

M. 1949-4-11, no 882; 5.11g, 3; ΙΣΤΙΑΙΟΣ; obverse Die no. 3, reverse Die no. 1. **fig. 10**

Oxford

A. M.:

5.11g, 6; ΙΣΤΙΑΙΟΣ; obv. is corroded ; reverse Die no. 1

Istanbul

A. M.:

no 6909; 4.26g, 5; [Ι]ΣΤΙΑΙΟ[Σ]; obverse Die no. 3 ?, reverse Die no. 1, **fig. 11**

no 6910; 4.43g, 5; ΙΣΤΙΑΙΟΣ; obverse Die no. 1.

Munich

M. K.:

no 28433; 3.50g, 6; ΙΣΤΙΑΙΟ[Σ]; obverse Die no. 4, reverse Die no. 1. **fig. 12**

Moneyer: ΚΑΕΙΤΩΝ

Chios, c. 1911

Maurogordato, 1916, p. 287, records a coin of this issue in a dealer's stock at Chios in 1911. Kanellakis also includes it in his list of coins that he had personally seen at Chios. No details of the coin are recorded but the description fits with coins of this type.

ex Mus. Thomsen coll.

Recorded by K. Whitte, p. 87, no. 111 and copied by Maurogordato, 1916, p. 287

ΚΑΕΙΤΩΝ, obverse Die no. 4? This coin disappeared sometime during the 19th cent. see the drawing, **fig. A**

Moneyer: ΦΑΝΟΔΙΚΟΣ

London

K. c

no 460; 4.79g, 11; ΦΑΝΟΔΙΚ[ΟΣ]; obverse Die no. 3?, rev. D. 1. **fig. 13**

Paris

B. N.:

G. c: 2.87g, 1; ΦΑΝΟΔΙΚΟ[Σ] ; obverse Die no. 2. reverse Die no. 1. **fig. 14**

Istanbul

A. M.:

no 6925; 4.44g, 5; ΦΑΝΟΔΙΚΟΣ; obverse Die no. 4. reverse Die no. 2?. **fig. 15**

Chios, c 1911

Maurogordato, 1916, p. 287, records a coin of this issue in a dealer's stock at Chios in 1911. No further details are recorded and the coin disappeared during the 1920s.

II. 3. ATTIC WEIGHT CIVIC DRACHMS, SERIES I (Pl. III)

1. Silver coinage at Chios under Alexander the Great and the 'Diadochi':

For a period spanning close to half a century (c. 332-290 BC) the Chians were left without any precious metal issues of their own mintage and used a coinage which was first imposed upon them by Alexander the Great, and later supplied by his successors who ruled Asia Minor and are thought also to have had control of the island. This type of coinage was produced at a number of different mints of Asia Minor, and all issues (gold-silver) bore standard types and were struck on the Attic standard.¹⁹⁸ It is reasonable to assume that the bulk of such precious metal coinage entering Chios might have originated from cities that were designated as mints for Alexander's coinage, and situated in Ionia and other regions of Asia Minor close to the island (e.g. Colophon, Miletus, e.t.c.).¹⁹⁹

After Alexander's death in 323 BC his successors, who carved their states out of his empire, continued striking precious metal coinage bearing the types of Alexander's own lifetime coinage on the Attic standard. This coinage also seems to have circulated at Chios, though references to silver coinage in Chian inscriptions of the period do not distinguish between that struck by Alexander and his successors.

The introduction of Alexander's precious metal coinage at Chios -as we saw previously, a base metal coinage continued to be produced locally- and the parallel cessation of locally produced silver issues seems to contradict the claim made recently by numismatists that Alexander did not cause any of the Greek cities to stop issuing their own coinage.²⁰⁰ This theory is based on the assertion that Alexander, as the head of the alliance against Persia

¹⁹⁸ On a presentation of the general features of this type of coinage see the 'Introduction' in M. J. Price, 1991.

¹⁹⁹ For mints in Ionia striking official coinage for the Macedonian Empire, see Price, *ibid.*

²⁰⁰ This is the central point held by Martin, 1984, see in particular the discussion in the chapter with his conclusions, pp. 219-248. Morkholm, 1991, p. 84, also accepts this idea based on the evidence of civic mints in Greece (e.g. Larisa) that were thought in the past to have been shut down by Philip II or Alexander, but which proved to have continued striking coinage during the latter's reign.

would have acted as the ‘champion’ of Greek freedom from the foreign yoke; since one of the basic freedoms of the Greek cities was their right to issue coinage, it is unlikely that Alexander would have had the legal authority to deny them this right.²⁰¹

However this theory does not seem to take into account known examples of Greek civic mints, other than Chios, that ceased producing precious metal coinage as soon as the city was taken over by Alexander. Ephesus, a metropolitan centre of Ionia, is the most famous and well studied of such cases. The mint there ceased producing precious metal coinage soon after Alexander captured the city in 332 BC and no silver bearing civic types was produced with certainty at least until the end of the 4th century BC.²⁰² Ephesus did have an active mint during this period and bronze coinage continued to be struck; this would mean that the city retained the right to its own token currency but was denied any precious metal coinage of its own. Undoubtedly further cases of coin cessations will be brought to light when studies of other mints of the period become available.²⁰³

According to Martin the cessation of certain silver Greek coinages during the early Hellenistic period may not have been the result of a political decision by Alexander or one of his successors, but the consequence of the monetary conditions that prevailed after the formation of the Macedonian Empire. He believes that the large production of silver coinage by the empire’s mints and the wide spread circulation of this coinage, even in cities not

²⁰¹ ‘One of the professed aims of the Panhellenic expedition against Persia under Alexander was the liberation of the Greeks in western Asia Minor. A natural consequence of this propaganda must have been that the old Greek cities in this region were allowed to continue their local coinages to the extent that the civic authorities found it expedient and profitable to do so.’, Morkholm, 1991, p. 92.

²⁰² Ephesus produced an abundant silver coinage during the 4th century BC which came to an abrupt end around the time of Alexander's expedition, see Le Rider, 1973. Morkholm, 1991, p. 93, f. 40, states that no silver issues were struck after 334 BC at Ephesus. He seems to contradict this in p. 93, where he does not preclude the possibility that silver issues of Ephesus continued to be struck shortly after this date. Dr Kinns, in a private conversation, considers the possibility that Ephesus may have struck some very limited silver coinage in the last decade of the 4th century BC, though not under Alexander and his immediate succession.

²⁰³ Martin, 1984, ch. 8, pp. 166-195, discusses local civic coinage of Greece in relation to the policy of Philip II, Alexander III, and his immediate successors, towards locally produced coinage. Cities of Asia Minor are not considered in his account.

nominally under Macedonian rule, would have eventually driven out of circulation the local coins (Martin, 1984, pp. 219-248). This scenario however does not seem to apply in the case of Chios where we seem to have the abrupt disappearance of all local silver from hoards dating after c. 332 BC (see above). This fact strongly suggests that a policy of withdrawal of all issues from circulation was enforced, rather similar in a way to what was happening during the same period with issues of local Persian dynasts that had resisted Alexander, for example the Hecatomnids of Caria.²⁰⁴ It would seem that the Chian -and Ephesian- coinages were treated in the same way with these non Greek issues. It is true that the Chians may have refrained from striking their own precious metal coinage in the next few decades for financial reasons and possibly because they had become accustomed to using Alexander's and his successor's coinages. However it is certain that the Chians began using in the first place this coinage only after foreign rule forced out of circulation their own local coinage.

It is noticeable that Chios and Ephesus suffered a similar fate during the 330's BC. Both cities had a powerful political faction aiding the Persians, and were captured, lost, and recaptured by the Macedonian army after intense fighting. In this light it would seem reasonable to assume that these cities would have been treated by Alexander as 'occupied' enemy territory rather than 'liberated' Greek cities, as was the case for cities that surrendered to him peacefully. Much would have depended on whether these cities were enrolled officially as members of the 'Corinthian league' (the Greek alliance over which Alexander presided) and therefore treated as free Greek cities and allies of Alexander, or if they were considered as part of Alexander's conquests. It seems more likely that they belonged in the latter category.²⁰⁵

²⁰⁴ On issues of the Carian dynasts at the time of Alexander's campaign see K. Konuk, 'Quelques reflexions sur le monnayage des Satrapes, hecatomnides de Carie' in *Actes du Xie Congress Internationale de Numismatique, Bruxelles*, 1991, Vol. 1, pp. 237-242.

²⁰⁵ Ehrenberg, 1980, p. 15, thinks that this may have been the case for most of the cities in Asia Minor conquered by Alexander. F. W. Walbank, *The Hellenistic World*, 1992, p. 40, states that there is no evidence that any of the

It is far from clear why Alexander's silver issues were put in circulation at Chios so soon after the Macedonian conquest. As we saw, a Macedonian garrison was briefly installed on the island between 332 and 331 BC, but this in itself seems unlikely to have caused a widespread use of Alexander's precious metal coinage at Chios. Furthermore in *Alexander's 1st Letter to the Chians*, line 18, it is explicitly stated that the Chians were to pay, from their own treasury, for the expenses of the garrison. This would have saved considerable sums of money for Alexander and also restricted the need to send quantities of his own coinage to Chios.

The suppression of the local silver coinage at Chios and the adoption of Alexander's coinage locally may have been the result of the island paying taxes to Alexander. Following the seizure of the Persian royal treasure in 332 BC, Alexander struck a very large coinage²⁰⁶ and it would have been in his own interest to have a uniform tax system in place throughout his empire and receive payments by levied cities in this coinage. There is no mention of Chios having to pay a levy or taxes to Alexander or any of his successors.²⁰⁷ However Ephesus is known to have been taxed by Alexander²⁰⁸ and an inscription from the city of Priene records that it paid 'contributions' to Alexander (Walbank, 1992, p. 39 and p. 136). It seems therefore possible that Alexander would have taxed certain cities in the region, one of which was probably Chios. The money collected during the later years of his reign would have been in

cities of Asia Minor were enrolled as member of the league. He claims however that Chios may have become a member based on the fact that some of the Chian oligarchs captured in 332 BC were handed over to the Council of the Greeks at Corinth for trial. This however is not evidence that Chios participated on the council but rather the fact that Alexander, who ordered these trials, -see the discussion above of the terms Alexander included in his letters to the Chians- probably wanted to make an example out of the Chian leaders for the rest of the Greeks.

²⁰⁶ M. Price, 'Alexander's reform of the Macedonian regal coinage', NC 142 (1982), pp. 180-90, p. 189.

²⁰⁷ *Alexander's A letter to the Chians*, line 19, orders them to contribute ships and men to his navy. However this seems to have been a temporary measure, see the discussion in the historical background, p. 18.

²⁰⁸ Arrian, I, 17, 10f, records that whatever money Alexander received from Ephesus he eventually deposited them in that city's Artemisium. Regardless of the fact that this money ended up with a local institution -rather in Alexander's coffers- it is clear that Ephesus was paying taxes to Alexander. On this point see in particular Ehrenberg, 1980, p. 14 and p. 33.

his own currency, which may explain the urgency in the imposition of his coinage on the Chians.

The lack of any silver issues by Chios throughout this half century period, coinciding with the rule of Alexander and his immediate successors (known as *diadochoi*), is in contrast to what was happening in other large Ionian city mints at the time, that are known to have issued local silver bearing their own civic types during the last quarter of the 4th century BC. Some of these issues were even struck on local standards (a possible sign of greater autonomy?), and different to the Attic used throughout the rest of the Macedonian Empire; they would have probably circulated independently of the 'royal' coinage.²⁰⁹ As we saw Chios had an active mint in place at the time, striking a bronze coinage but no silver, which demonstrates that, even though it produced none, the island had the technical capacity to strike silver.

The evidence suggests that the political status of Chios remained unchanged following Alexander's death in 323 BC and that the island continued to be under foreign domination. If it was taxed by Alexander, as I have already suggested, then it is possible that this taxation may have been retained by his successors. This likely situation may therefore account for the continued absence of precious metal coinage at Chios during the last quarter of the 4th century BC. In this light the striking of silver coinage by Chios soon after c 300 BC (see also p. 88) may be seen as a sign that the island had regained some degree of freedom.²¹⁰

²⁰⁹ Kinns, 1980, p. 340, suggests that between c 330-294, Lebedus, Teos, Erythrae, and Colophon struck silver coinage bearing their civic types and on either the 'full' or the 'reduced' 'Rhodian' weight. During this period, only Erythrae from the above cities also struck some of its coinage on the Attic standard (these are dated by Kinns c 310-297 BC). Teos and Colophon were designated royal mints producing Alexander type issues for general use throughout the Macedonian Empire, without this seemingly infringing upon their right to strike their own coinage. Of the above cities we know that Erythrae was certainly free during the late 4th century BC, and this may also apply for the other cities. see Kinns, p. 41.

²¹⁰ See the discussion in the historical background (p. 20), for other type of evidence suggesting that Chios may have been free after c 300 BC.

2. Early Posthumous Alexander type issues of Chios:

During the early 3rd century BC the Chian mint resumed the issue of silver coinage ending its dependency for such coinage from abroad. The issues belong to the so-called *Posthumous Alexander Types*, a coinage that was first struck by city mints of Asia Minor during the late 4th century BC,²¹¹ and followed later by other Greek mints, including Chios. It copied the types and standard of Alexander's silver coinage and circulated throughout the Eastern Mediterranean.²¹²

The issues of cities usually bear mint symbols influenced from local emblems demonstrating that they were under civic authority, as opposed to issues struck under the authority of one of Alexander's successors. It would seem therefore that most of these issues represented the coinage of free and autonomous cities. Chios also copied this feature and included its traditional civic emblems -sphinx with an amphora, a bunch of grapes, or a single amphora- as mintmarks (Bauslaugh, *Posthumous Chian Alexanders*, pp. 8-9).

The earliest struck Chian issues of this type date in the first quarter of the 3rd century BC and consist of a large series of drachms accompanied by some rarer tetradrachms.²¹³ These issues attest to the fact that the Chian mint was copying the monetary system that had developed in the rest of Ionia during the previous three or four decades.²¹⁴ However by the

²¹¹ These particular issues differ from earlier ones bearing the same types in that they seem to represent civic issues, rather than 'imperial' money struck on behalf of the Macedonian empire. Cities in Asia Minor that produced this type of coinage include Sardis, Magnesia ad Maeander, Colophon and Miletus, and others.

²¹² This is the only coinage of Hellenistic Chios to have been thoroughly researched and published recently; see Bauslaugh, *Posthumous Chian Alexanders*, pp. 1-42, and Price, 1991, relied on Bauslaugh's work for the section, 'Chios', pp. 299-301 and pl. LXV-LXVII, CXXXIII; however Price also included evidence that became known after Bauslaugh's article was published. For much of what follows on this type of coinage see the works referred to above. For the earliest Chian Alexander type issues with a date in the early 3rd century BC see Bauslaugh, *Posthumous Chian Alexanders*, Period. I, pp. 2-12.

²¹³ Bauslaugh, pp. 3-10, dates them to the decade c 280-70 BC; Price, 1991, p. 299, argues for a more general date of c 290-75 BC. Kinns, 1980, p. 498 agrees with Bauslaugh's date for the earliest of the tetradrachms but proposes a date of c 260-50 BC for the earliest drachms; the latter date is considered as too late by Price.

²¹⁴ It is interesting that the Ionian cities that were producing Alexander type coinage during the last three decades of the 4th century (Magnesia on the Maeander, Colophon, Miletus, and Teos) were mainly striking the drachm denomination. For mints producing Alexander drachms in Asia Minor during this period, see Price, 1991, pp. 208-9, the section: 'Drachm mints of Asia Minor', and M. Thompson and A. R. Bellinger, 'Greek coins in the Yale collection, a hoard of Alexander drachms', YCS, 1955, pp. 3-45. This fact has made Morkholm, 1991, pp.

time Chios began striking its own 'Alexander' coinage most other cities in Ionia had already replaced the one drachm denominational system with one based exclusively on the tetradrachm (Bauslaugh, *Posthumous Chian Alexanders*, pp. 11-12, f. 23).

All of the Chian 'Posthumous Alexander' drachms with known provenances originate from hoards outside the island,²¹⁵ suggesting that they were probably struck to make foreign payments rather than provide the local population with its own silver issues.²¹⁶ This can also be seen in the use of the internationally recognized coinage with Alexander types. For issues that seem to have been restricted to local use, the mint resorted to introducing civic type drachms that are discussed below.

50-1, and M. Thompson, *ibid*, to argue that the Ionian mints may have been reserved exclusively as drachm mints by the central authorities of the Macedonian Empire.

²¹⁵ Bauslaugh, *Posthumous Chian Alexanders*, p. 6, recorded nine hoards in Asia Minor and the Balkans that included issues of this series.

²¹⁶ For a link of these issues to possible military expenses see the discussion in the historical background, p. 21.

3. General aspects of civic type drachms:

Parallel with the issue of the earliest Alexander type coinage Chios seems to have struck a small group of Attic drachms bearing the city's emblems. In contrast to the Chian 'Posthumous Alexanders', the civic type issues were probably struck to cover monetary needs at Chios, since none seems to have been found outside the island.²¹⁷

Six issues survive with a total of 13 coins recorded, bearing the names of the moneyers, ΕΟΝΟΜΟΣ, ΗΙΘΕΟΣ, ΗΡΙΑΔΑΝΟΣ, ΘΕΟΠΟΜΠΟΣ, ΚΗΦΙΣΟΚΡΙΤΟΣ and ΤΙΜΟΚΛΗΣ. Of these, the issues of ΗΙΘΕΟΣ, ΗΡΙΑΔΑΝΟΣ and ΚΗΦΙΣΟΚΡΙΤΟΣ are known from a single coin each, while two coins are recorded for ΤΙΜΟΚΛΗΣ, three for ΕΟΝΟΜΟΣ and four for ΘΕΟΠΟΜΠΟΣ. Another known coin from this series is very worn and clipped making it difficult to ascertain the moneyer's name.²¹⁸ Only a single die link between issues of different moneyers is known (ΕΟΝΟΜΟΣ and ΤΙΜΟΚΛΗΣ, see below). The ΗΙΘΕΟΣ issue may have been struck after a small interval from the other issues since its style is different and the letter forms are much larger compared to the rest of the issues.²¹⁹ It shows a style which is identical to that of later bronze issues (Series 17) suggesting that ΗΙΘΕΟΣ may have struck his drachm later than other moneyers of this series.

The drachms are struck on modules measuring 16-18 mm and the average weight of coins that have seen little circulation is 4.07g and similar to that of the Attic standard, though only a few issues have a weight on exactly this standard. The issues can be arranged in groups according to mint symbols appearing either side of the reverse type. This is the first

²¹⁷ S. Benton, 'Excavation in Ithaca, III', ABSA 1938-9, pp. 1-51, p. 51, records that she heard that a Chian Hellenistic drachm of a similar description to this type was found on the island of Ithaca as a stray find. This story cannot be verified and I believe that it is more likely that, if such a find was indeed made there, it would probably have been a Chian drachm of the later Hellenistic period, bearing identical types to these drachms but which is more common, rather than a coin of this series.

²¹⁸ SNG, *Fitzwilliam Museum, Leake and General Collections*, Vol. IV, Part VI, *Asia Minor-Phrygia*, London, 1965, no. 4606, wrongly identified as an issue of a later moneyer, ΘΕΥΜΝΙΣ.

²¹⁹ The sphinx type of ΗΙΘΕΟΣ bears a wing showing on its surface separate feathers and not the curved (or 'wavy') wing form of earlier issues. This development is also visible on types of issues of ΘΕΟΠΟΜΠΟΣ and ΚΗΦΙΣΟΚΡΙ[ΤΟΣ] but these retain the characteristic small letter forms and the amphora type of the other issues in the series.

occurrence on the Hellenistic coinage of Chios of mint or control symbols alongside the main types.²²⁰ They were not used on contemporary bronze issues but such symbols are frequently found on later bronze series.

An ear of grain symbol is visible in the field to the left of the reverse type for issues of ΕΟΝΟΜΟΣ,²²¹ ΗΡΙΑΔΑΝΟΣ and ΤΙΜΟΚΛΗΣ; a race torch in the field to the left of issues of ΘΕΟΠΟΜΠΟΣ. The unique coin of ΚΗΦΙΣΟΚΡΙΤΟΣ bears an uncertain symbol which is not well struck -ear of grain?- while no symbol appears on the unique coin of ΗΙΘΕΟΣ. The issues show some stylistic affinity, with the notable exception of ΗΙΘΕΟΣ, and were struck by the same technique, producing lumpy coins with small diameters and thick edges. These features suggest a closely linked group -even though die links between the different moneyers seem to be all but missing- and probably produced within a short period.²²²

The amount of coinage struck in the series seems to have been small since die studies show that no moneyer used more than a single obverse or two reverse dies. In the coin catalogue I have listed a complete die study for each issue in the series.

The civic type drachms were accompanied by the issue of bronze coinage (Series 16) and some moneyers were in charge of both types of issues (on this topic, see below, p. 87). However it is not clear if these were also the same moneyers in charge of the contemporary Alexander type issues (see above in this chapter), or if this coinage, so different in appearance and function to the civic type coinage, was entrusted to other officials or moneyers. Chian Alexander type coinage of this period bears monograms, presumably of the names of the

²²⁰ Mint symbols were also used by the Chian mint on a limited number of silver issues of the Classical period, Hardwick, 1993, p. 218.

²²¹ An issue of this moneyer in the B.M. exceptionally carries a second symbol, a cornucopia, in the field to the right of the reverse type (for references to this coin see the coin catalogue at the end of the chapter).

²²² Note that some slight stylistic differences are visible on issues of different moneyers. For example the wing on the sphinx of ΕΟΝΟΜΟΣ, ΗΡΙΑΔΑΝΟΣ, and ΤΙΜΟΚΛΗΣ show the older curved shape while on ΘΕΟΠΟΜΠΟΣ and ΚΗΦΙΣΟΚΡΙΤΟΣ depict the feathers springing from its back as sun rays. However in all other aspects the latter issues are stylistically identical with the other issues.

moneyers in charge of the issues, but which cannot be deciphered with any degree of certainty.²²³ It is therefore impossible to associate them with individual moneyers recorded on the civic drachms even though the two coinages have been established as being contemporary (see the following discussion on the proposed date of issue for these drachms). Unfortunately these two different but contemporary silver coinages cannot be linked any further. This also seems to apply for issues of other Ionian cities that are known to have struck Alexander and civic type drachms during the same period as Chios.²²⁴ In none of these coinages was it possible to associate moneyers of the Alexander type coinage -who signed the issues with their monograms- with those that had signed the contemporary local civic type coinages with their full names.

4. Proposed dating: There has been a long dispute on the question of the date of the earliest civic type drachms struck by Hellenistic Chios. The lack of any strong numismatic evidence, such as hoards or overstriking on coins of known date, led numismatists to use typological and stylistic criteria in an attempt to place chronologically the issues within the local coin series. This method of dating proved unreliable since it produced vastly different chronologies ranging from the last quarter of the 4th century to the second half of the 3rd century (Baldwin, 1914, p. 50-51).²²⁵

²²³ An Alexander type tetradrachm dated to this period carries a clear monogram which reads ΘΕ. This may stand for ΘΕ[ΟΠΟΜΠΟΣ] -a name found on a civic type drachm issue- but also for any of a large number of Chian names. See also Maurogordato, 1917, p. 326, who suggests a possible restoration of this name as ΘΕ[ΡΣΗΣ].

²²⁴ Teos and Colophon were also striking Alexander type together with civic type coinages at the end of the 4th century BC, see Morkholm, 1991, p. 137. The monetary condition at these cities would have been similar to that of Chios at the time.

²²⁵ Based on an assumed similarity in style between these issues and the final silver Chian issues of the Classical period which she dated to the last quarter of the 4th century BC. Maurogordato, 1916, pp. 284-5, with a date of c 250-200 BC on the assumption that Chios could not have struck on the Attic weight prior to c 250 BC. He quotes no evidence in support of this theory.

Kinns was the first to consider a date for the issues on the basis of sound evidence. He noted a number of common features shared between these Chian drachms and a certain silver series of the neighbouring city of Erythrae dated by him to the first decade of the 3rd century BC (Kinns, 1980, pp. 75-77 and p. 498).²²⁶ He suggested that the two different issues were internally linked -struck probably at a single mint- and that the Chian civic type drachms would date in the early 3rd century BC, in line with his proposed date for the Erythraean issues. A link between the civic coinages of Chios and Erythrae during the early Hellenistic period is highly likely since these cities did in fact cooperate in the production of their early 3rd century BC Alexander type tetradrachms, as attested by the stylistic affinity of their issues and in the use of a common control monogram by both mints.²²⁷

Further evidence on the chronology of the Chian drachms has been provided by the study of the bronze coinage of Chios (Series 16, discussed below) that proved to be contemporary issues of these drachms. This has offered internal -Chian- support for the date already proposed by Kinns. Among the moneyers striking drachms three, $\text{H}\Theta\text{E}\Theta\text{C}$, $\text{K}\text{H}\Phi\text{I}\Sigma\text{O}\text{K}\text{P}\text{I}\text{T}\text{O}\Sigma$, $\text{H}\text{P}\text{I}\Delta\text{A}\text{N}\text{O}\Sigma$, have names also appearing on bronze issues. These happen to be rare and unusual names (see pp. 89-90), making it likely that the moneyers issuing both silver and bronze issues are the same individuals rather than different namesakes. Furthermore, the contemporarity of silver and bronze issues is also evident from the style of the types which is identical for both silver and bronze issues.²²⁸ This confirms that the bronze and silver issues signed by the same moneyers were struck together.

²²⁶ The Chian issues share the same mint or control symbols with issues AR VI no. 94-6, of Erythrae struck on the 'reduced Rhodian' weight dating c. 297-294 BC.

²²⁷ This link of Alexander issues of Chios and Erythrae was first recorded by Bauslaugh, *Posthumous Chian Alexanders*, pp. 5-10, and upheld by Kinns, 1980, Appendix A, p. 498, who also proposes historical events that may have dictated this common monetary policy on the two neighbouring cities (see also p. 21 of this study).

²²⁸ A comparison of illustrations of the different types of coinage makes this point clear; compare the coin types illustrated in Pl.II, 'Attic Drachms, Series I', fig. 4 and Pl.III 'Series 16' fig. 21 ($\text{H}\Theta\text{E}\Theta\text{C}$); Pl.II fig. 8 and Pl.III fig. 9 ($\text{K}\text{H}\Phi\text{I}\Sigma\text{O}\text{K}\text{P}\text{I}\text{T}\text{O}\Sigma$); Pl.II fig. 5 and Pl.III figs. 5,6,7 ($\text{H}\text{P}\text{I}\Delta\text{A}\text{N}\text{O}\Sigma$). Baldwin, 1914, pp. 50-51, was the first to

Issues of Series 16 have an established date in the first quarter of the 3rd century BC based on evidence which is independent of these drachm issues (see the following chapter on Series 16). Therefore this date would also apply for the drachms under discussion and agrees in general with that already proposed by Kinns on the evidence of a foreign mint.²²⁹

These Attic drachms may be considered as the first silver issues of Chios in name and type for the Hellenistic period. During the same period the city would have covered its need for silver coinage -mostly for payments abroad- through issues of Alexander type coinage. The introduction of precious metal coinage bearing types and the ethnic of Chios might have also served a further purpose other than making payments. These issues could signal that Chios gained freedom in c 300 BC following more than three decades of Macedonian rule.²³⁰

5. Epigraphic and literary evidence: With the exception of ΘΕΟΠΟΜΠΟΣ all other names appearing on the civic drachms are rare or uniquely attested from these issues. The names of ΗΙΘΕΟΣ and ΕΟΝΟΜΟΣ are found only on the coinage and are absent from inscriptions of Chios and later issues.²³¹ The name ΗΡΙΑΔΑΝΟΣ appears to originate from the small river of the same name which flowed through the city of Athens during antiquity, but interestingly such a name is not attested in Attica.²³² The name ΚΗΦΙΣΟΚΡΙΤΟΣ only appears in two inscriptions of Chios,

detect an identical style for the silver and bronze issues signed by the same moneyers. However she failed to use this link for dating the drachms and considered a wrong period of issue based on style.

²²⁹ As I discuss in the historical background, p. 21, Chios was possibly under Lysimachus during the period c 301-281 BC. This ruler seems to have disallowed during c 297-281 BC the issue of any local silver coinage bearing civic types (M. Thompson, 'The Mints of Lysimachus' in *Essays in Honour of H. Robinson*, London, p. 163) and Kinns, 1980, p. 41, attributes a certain break in the coinage of Erythrae in the early 3rd century as the result of this monetary policy. If Chios was indeed under Lysimachus, then we may have to consider that the drachms of this series could date in the early 290s BC, with possibly the issue of ΗΙΘΕΟΣ -the only one, as we saw, of a slightly different and later style to the rest- struck a few years afterwards in c 281 BC.

²³⁰ Chios might have become a free city-state as a result of the battle of Ipsus (301 BC, see p. 20) since Antigonos Monophthalmus, who died in this battle is likely to have ruled the island

²³¹ Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 171, (ΕΟΝΟΜΟΣ); p. 201, (ΗΙΘΕΟΣ). These names also happen to be rare throughout the Greek world, see the entries in the two volumes of Fraser-Mathews, *Lexicon*.

²³² See the previous footnote (Fraser-Mathews, *Lexicon*, Attica). The name only appears again at Chios in a local inscription dating to the Roman Imperial period, and centuries after the issue bearing this name was struck; for the inscription see Zolota, 1908, p. 227 and Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 209.

both of which are of the same period dating to the late 4th century or early 3rd century BC.²³³

The rarity of the name and the fact that both inscriptions and the drachm issue have been dated to the same period makes it likely that all three names -the two appearing in the inscriptions and that on the issue- may belong to a single individual.²³⁴

In the past, scholars have suggested that the moneyer ΘΕΟΠΟΜΠΟΣ, who signed a drachm of this series, may be identified with the most famous Chian historian and politician in antiquity, who bore this name and lived during the late Classical and early Hellenistic periods.²³⁵ This is now ruled out by the proposed chronology for the issue.²³⁶ We have to consider also that the name would have been relatively common at the time since it belonged to one of the traditional clans of Chios.²³⁷

²³³ The first of these inscriptions is the catalogue with names of individuals discussed in Series 15, possibly of moneyers; see Stefanou, 1963, p. 151, l. 6, for the name of this moneyer appearing in the catalogue. The second one is an inscribed gravestone in the Archaeological Museum of Chios with inventory no. 436, referred to by Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, no. 88, p. 266, and published by him, 1991, p. 16, no. 5. He proposes a date in the late 4th or early 3rd century BC.

²³⁴ Significantly the name appears in the inscription which seems to record moneyers, giving further weight to the suggestion that the individual named in the inscriptions and the issue is the same.

²³⁵ First proposed by A. M. Blastos in *Ιστορία της Νήσου Χίου*, (Hermoupolis, 1840), Vol. I, p. 106. For the latest available publication on Theopompos and his work, see M. A. Flower, *Theopompos of Chios: History and Rhetoric in the Fourth Century B. C.*, (Oxford, 1994) with all earlier bibliography.

²³⁶ The Byzantine lexicographers, Photios, *codex no. 176*, p. 392 and Soudas (ephoros), record that Theopompos spent his final years in exile at Egypt at the court of Ptolemy I; on this point see also, Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 226. Theopompos is known to have died old, but even if he did return and die at Chios (something which contradicts the statement of the Byzantine lexicographers who drew their information from reliable ancient sources not available to us today) he would have been close to a hundred years old if still alive during the early 3rd century BC and therefore highly unlikely -though not completely out of the realms of possibility- to have been in charge of this particular issue.

²³⁷ Forrest, 1960, p. 178, no. 5, line 5: [Θ]ΕΟΠΟΜΠΙΔΑΙ; this section is dated to the first quarter of the 4th century BC. The name itself appears in a few Chian inscriptions of the Hellenistic period, see Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 226. The name also appears in Alexander type tetradrachm struck by Chios in 190-170 BC and a much later date than the issues under consideration.

II. 4. BRONZE SERIES 16 (Pl. III)

1. General aspects: In the previous section I made reference to bronze issues forming Series 16 and their link to the earliest Attic weight drachms of Chios bearing civic types. The fact that these coinages were contemporary has provided us with independent and tangible evidence on the chronology of the first civic drachms of Chios for the Hellenistic period. A number of common moneyers appear for both the bronze and drachm issues and I have already referred to these in the relevant discussion on the drachm series.

In total the names of 12 moneyers are found on known issues of Series 16,²³⁸ representing the largest number recorded so far on any series of Chios, whether bronze or silver. This abrupt increase in the number of individuals in charge of the issues does not necessarily constitute a larger coin production. On the contrary, the majority of issues are known from a single or two coins, while even the more common ones are represented by less than ten known coins each.²³⁹ Die studies confirm that only a small number of coins were struck for each issue which would account for their great rarity.

2. Denominations: Three different denominations seem to have been struck in Series 16. Type 16.I is the largest of these, with a module of 16-15 mm and an average weight of 3.84g (25 coins). It represents the more common type in circulation and almost certainly belongs to the same denomination as 14.I and 15, viz. the trichalkon. The second denomination, type 16 II, is represented by coins struck on a module of 11-10 mm and averaging in weight 1.00g (6 coins). These coins are of greater rarity than the trichalkon, and their small weight and module

²³⁸ These also include the names ΗΙΘΕΟΣ, ΠΟΣΕΙΔΙΠΠΟΣ, found on issues of the chalkous but not the trichalkon (see below).

²³⁹ Issues known from single specimens: ΑΘΗΝΙΚΩΝ, ΘΗΡΩΝ, ΚΗΦΙΣΟΚΡΙΤΟΣ, ΚΡΙΤΩΝ, ΜΗΤΙΚΛΟΣ, ΜΗΤΙΚ[ΟΣ], and ΣΑΝΝΑΣ; a small number of these issues is also known from undertypes of coins of Series 17. Issues known from two specimens: ΝΙΚΟΜΗΔΗΣ and ΦΙΛΙΣΤΗΣ; issues known from three specimens : ΗΡΙΑΔΑΝΟΣ; issue known from eight specimens: ΒΑΤΙΣ

seem to denote a denomination of very low value. Since they are similar in weight and module to coins of 14 II, and also approximately a third of the average weight and module of the trichalkon, they are almost certainly of the chalkous denomination. There are two other coins of similar weight to the previous denomination but on a smaller module, 8 mm.²⁴⁰ These tiny coins are likely to have passed in circulation as chalkoi though it seems possible, on account of the types appearing on one of the coins (discussed below), that they may have been issues of the hemichalkous denomination.

The types and style of the trichalkon and the chalkous are identical but since the modules of the denominations are well defined it is easy to distinguish these denominations from each other. However the smallest issue in size, probably a hemichalkous and bearing the name of the moneyer ΗΙΘΕΟΣ, depicts the sphinx facing to the right in contrast to the larger denominations with the sphinx facing to the left (see fig. 26). This typological change seems to have been devised in order to distinguish this particular denomination from the next highest denomination, the chalkous, especially considering that the same name appears on issues of both.

No coin that could have conceivably been issued as a dichalkon is recorded in the series.

3. Proposed dating: A hoard of bronze coins found in Attica formed and deposited during the Chremonidean War of 267/6-262/1 BC included a Chian chalkous of this series in the name of ΗΙΘΕΟΣ.²⁴¹ The coin has seen little circulation judging from its state of preservation (fig. 20) and the date of the hoard's deposition strongly suggests that coins of Series 16 were already

²⁴⁰ Both are in the Berlin Coin Cabinet; see the coin catalogue for references.

²⁴¹ The hoard was found on the Eastern coast of Attica in 1970 and now belongs to a private coin collection in Athens. It consists of bronze issues of Athens, Ptolemy II, Pergamum, and Chios, and is dated from the dateable material of the hoard. Its composition makes it almost certain that it was formed and deposited during the Chremonidean War; for a discussion see C. Lagos, 'A Hoard of the Chremonidean War', NC 156 (1996), pp. 272-277.

circulating by c 270 BC. On this evidence I would place chronologically the issue of Series 16 sometime during the first quarter of the 3rd century BC.

Issues of Series 16 were struck following those of Series 15 but it is not clear if this occurred soon after, or if some time elapsed between the different series. The absence of common moneyers for both Series 15 and 16, and hoards containing coins from both series,²⁴² together with a change in the style of the types (especially relating to the depiction of the sphinx), may signal a possible break of a few years between the striking of Series 15 and the introduction of Series 16. We have seen all available evidence pointing to a rapid succession of bronze issues at Chios during the early part of the Hellenistic period, but this does not seem to apply for Series 16.²⁴³

4. Die studies: All known coins of Series 16 originate from a small number of dies,²⁴⁴ and there is extensive die sharing between different moneyers.²⁴⁵ As with Series 15, most known coins of Series 16, of the same moneyer, were struck from a single pair of dies. For example, all four known coins of the moneyer ΒΑΤΙΣ share a common obverse die and three of these also share the same reverse die. Of the three known coins of ΗΡΙΑΔΑΝΟΣ, two were struck from a

²⁴² Maurogordato, 1916, p. 291, states that no coins from this series were found in hoard IGCH1306; this is to some degree also confirmed by the fact that the donations of J. Anderson to the British Museum and the Athens Numismatic Museum did not include any coins from this series (see the discussion in chapters in Series 14 & 15). The coins of Series 16 in Istanbul Archaeological Museum almost certainly originate from a single hoard, since they consist of unique issues and photographs of the coins show similar signs of circulation and probably the same type of surface patina. However it is not possible to speculate if any of these coins were found together with coins of Series 15 that belong to the same museum.

²⁴³ I have already suggested that drachms of Series I, with the exception of ΗΙΘΕΟΣ, may date to the early 290s BC in which case bronze issues signed by ΗΡΙΑΔΑΝΟΣ and ΚΗΦΙΣΟΚΡΙΤΟΣ (also responsible for silver) would date to the same period. Issues of the other moneyers not represented with a drachm may have been struck in the period c 297-281 with that of ΗΙΘΕΟΣ after c 281 BC.

²⁴⁴ Note that die studies were not possible for, the relatively few, worn specimens of the series and for issues that are known from undertypes of later issues.

²⁴⁵ Two issues of ΦΙΛΙΣΤΗΣ (figs. 16, 18) share the same obverse die with the single issue of ΚΗΦΙΣΟΚΡΙΤΟΣ (fig. 9). An issue of ΒΑΤΙΣ (fig. 4) with one of ΗΡΙΑΔΑΝΟΣ (figs. 7); another issue of the ΗΡΙΑΔΑΝΟΣ (fig. 5) shares an obverse die with the single known coin of ΑΘΗΝΙΚΩΝ (fig. 1), and possibly the issue of ΚΡΙΤΩΝ (fig. 10).

common pair of obverse and reverse dies (see the coin catalogue for a full listing of all die studies for the series.)

The reverse dies of different issues of the trichalkon of Series 16 seem to belong to two stylistic groups with issues in each group sharing types that are similar in style.²⁴⁶ A careful study of the better specimens has revealed that the reverse dies in each of these stylistic groups are very similar down to the smallest detail. It seems therefore likely that we are dealing with one die engraver for each group or even a single die that was reproduced several times by hubbing. On this evidence I suggest that most issues may have been produced together or within a short period.

Issues of 16.II are also die linked since one coin of the moneyer ΗΙΘΕΟΣ (fig. 20) shares a common obverse die with one signed by ΠΟΣΕΙΔΙΠΠΟΣ (fig. 22). The other dies of these moneyers are also stylistically very similar suggesting that they were prepared by a single die engraver and were probably struck at the same time.

5. Namesake moneyers: The moneyers ΗΡΙΑΔΑΝΟΣ, ΚΗΦΙΣΟΚΡΙΤΟΣ, ΘΗΡΩΝ and ΠΟΣΕΙΔΙΠΠΟΣ, who are recorded on issues of Series 16 (as we saw, the first two were also in charge of issues of Chian civic type drachms, Series I) have identical names to moneyers striking silver issues during the middle of the 4th century BC.²⁴⁷ There is more than a fifty year gap between these two coinages and it is unlikely that the namesake moneyers are the same individuals. However, in light of the fact that at least three of the names, ΗΡΙΑΔΑΝΟΣ, ΘΗΡΩΝ and ΚΗΦΙΣΟΚΡΙΤΟΣ, are uncommon at Chios (the first two are not found in a single inscription at Chios) it is likely that these represent family names and that the earlier moneyers of the

²⁴⁶ Reverse types used by the ΒΑΤΙΣ, ΑΘΗΝΙΚΩΝ, ΗΡΙΑΔΑΝΟΣ, ΚΗΦΙΣΟΚΡΙΤΟΣ, ΝΙΚΟΜΗΔΗΣ, ΜΗΤΙΚΟΣ are similar in style. This is slightly different to the style of types of issues signed by moneyers ΘΗΡΩΝ, ΦΙΛΙΣΤΗΣ, ΣΑΝΝΑΣ, ΝΙΚΟΜΗΔΗΣ, ΜΗΤΙΚΛΟΣ.

²⁴⁷ For issues of the Classical period see Maurogordato, 1915, pp. 410-1, nos. 51-3, issues in the name of ΗΡΙΑΔΑΝΟΣ; p. 405, no. 48, issues in the name of ΘΗΡΩΝ; pp. 410-1, nos. 51-52, issue in the name of ΚΗΦΙΣΟΚΡΙΤΟΣ; p. 405, no. 48, for issues in the name of ΠΟΣΕΙΔΙΠΠΟΣ.

Classical period were fathers or grandfathers of the namesake moneyers issuing silver and /or bronze coinage during the early Hellenistic period. Series 16 seems to offer the best evidence of a hereditary succession in the production of coinage at Chios during the late Classical and early Hellenistic period, though it is not clear if this alludes to certain families controlling an office linked to the issue of money, or wealthy private citizens following a family tradition of paying for the expenses of the mint as a *leitourgy*.²⁴⁸

6. Epigraphic evidence: I have already discussed the appearance of the name of ΚΗΦΙΣΟΚΡΙΤΟΣ in two contemporary inscriptions dating between the late 4th and early 3rd century BC, and approximately the same period as his drachm and bronze issue (see the discussion of the epigraphic evidence for Attic drachms of Series I). Here I will consider names that are found exclusively on the bronze issues and inscriptions of Chios, dating from about the same general period as that proposed for the issue of this series.

The first inscription is the inscribed gravestone of ΜΗΤΡΙΧΗ a woman whose father, ΚΡΙΤΩΝ, is namesake of a moneyer signing coinage of Series 16 (Forrest, 1986, p. 138, l. 1; Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, no. 161, p. 277). Forrest dated the inscription c 275 BC, a rather bold attempt in dating with precision a Chian inscription.²⁴⁹ This is the only occurrence of the name in an inscription of Chios dating after c 400 BC,²⁵⁰ and Forrest's proposed date for the inscription agrees well with the period proposed in this study for the issue bearing the same name. It is therefore likely that the individual named ΚΡΙΤΩΝ in the inscription may be identified with the contemporary namesake moneyer responsible for an issue of Series 16.

²⁴⁸ For a discussion of likely roles played by individuals signing issues of Chios during the Hellenistic period, see the chapter on typology, pp. 619-24.

²⁴⁹ Forrest, *ibid*; Sarikakis also accepts the proposed date by Forrest.

²⁵⁰ ΚΡΙΤΩΝ father of ΦΙΛΙΟΣ, appears in another inscribed gravestone, published by Zolotas, 1908, p. 190. The letter forms place this inscription in the early Classical period; on this proposed dating see Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 277, no. 159 (mid. 5th century BC).

The name ΜΗΤΙΚΛΟΣ is found on issues of Series 16 for both the trichalkon and the (?) hemichalkous²⁵¹ and in the following two Chian inscriptions.

- i} son of ΜΕΙΔΙΑΣ: in a catalogue of names, dating to the 4th century BC²⁵²
- ii} father of ΜΕΙΔΙΑΣ: in a catalogue of names, dating to the early 3rd century BC²⁵³

Sarikakis (*Chian Prosopography*, p. 307, no. 321) suggests that the individual, ΜΗΤΙΚΛΟΣ, named in the first inscription is likely to be the same as the one named in the second, and if so, both he named his son ΜΕΙΔΙΑΣ after his own father.

ΜΕΙΔΙΑΣ [ΟΓ -ΗΣ]	ΜΗΤΙΚΛΟΣ	ΜΕΙΔΙΑΣ
grandfather	father	son

This theory is plausible and supported by the fact that there are no other known occurrences of the names ΜΗΤΙΚΛΟΣ and ΜΕΙΔΙΑΣ [ΟΓ ΜΕΙΔΗΣ] at Chios. Generally these are rare names throughout the Greek world and may well have been restricted to members of a single family at Chios. In such a case ΜΗΤΙΚΛΟΣ would have lived during the late 4th and early 3rd century BC, and may therefore be identified with his namesake and contemporary moneyer in charge of issues of the trichalkon and the hemichalkous of this series.

A very similar though different name to the one discussed above is ΜΗΤΙΚ[ΟΣ]. It is extremely rare and only occurs once in any known Chian inscription and also an unique

²⁵¹ The name is not recorded in Maurogordato, 1916, p. 288, in the catalogue of issues of this series. He could only discernΓΙΚΛΟ.. on a coin in the coin cabinet of the Athens Numismatic Museum. ΜΗΤΙΚΛΟΣ is the only possible reconstruction for this name which is now confirmed, following the recording of this moneyer's name on the hemichalkous in the Berlin coin cabinet.

²⁵² F. Studniczka, 'Aus Chios', AM 13 (1888), pp. 160-201; W. Forrest, IG XII, 6, pp. 143-4, p. 167, no. 6, l. 1; SGDI 5659; Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, no. 156, p. 321, with the proposed date quoted above. The name of the father is recorded in the inscription as ΜΕΙΔΩ in the genitive and could be reconstructed in the nominative as ΜΕΙΔΙΑΣ or (less unlikely) as ΜΕΙΔΗΣ. These alternative spellings for the name are considered by Sarikakis in *Chian Prosopography*, p. 307.

²⁵³ Kourouniotis, AD, 1916, p. 215, B18; L. Robert, 1933, p. 506, A19; Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, no. 155, p. 321, with the proposed date quoted above.

trichalkon of Series 16.²⁵⁴ The inscription is a catalogue of names (Zolotas, 1908, p. 276, no. 188, line 1; Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, no. 158, p. 321) dating from before c 330 BC (Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 321).²⁵⁵ In view of the proposed date of the inscription it is not likely that the recorded individual and the namesake moneyer in charge of the issue of Series 16 could be the same, though it is possible in light of the rarity of the name, that they were relatives and the moneyer was a son or grandson of the earlier namesake individual recorded in the inscription.

The name ΠΟΣΕΙΔΙΠΠΟΣ appears in a chalkous of Series 16 and also in several Chian inscriptions which are dated approximately to the same period as the issue. ΠΟΣΕΙΔΙΠΠΟΥ, ΟΙ ΤΟΥ: was the name of a local clan recorded in one of the inscriptions of the ΤΟΤΕΙΔΕΣ faction, and dated c. 320 BC.²⁵⁶ An individual of this name was probably the patriarch of an extensive family and his descendants named their clan after him. It comes therefore as no surprise to find four different contemporary individuals with this name (or patronymic) enrolled as members of the ΤΟΤΕΙΔΕΣ fraction.²⁵⁷ The name also appears in two inscribed gravestones of the same period.²⁵⁸ Any one of the above individuals could be identified with the moneyer who signed the chalkous, and the lack of a patronymic for the name on the coin issue makes a

²⁵⁴ The name is recorded by Hardwick as ΜΗΤΙΚ[...]. In my opinion it should be restored as ΜΗΤΙΚ[ΟΣ], not ΜΗΤΙΚ[ΛΟΣ], the reason being that the name of the moneyer ends with the letter K; the die engraver therefore intended a name with this letter and not the letter Λ, before the stereotypical name ending -ΟΣ. The coin also happens to be in a perfect state of preservation which precludes the possibility that corrosion or wear might have affected the reading of the legend. Furthermore this particular coin and the known issues of ΜΗΤΙΚΛ[ΟΣ] are struck from different dies. The fact that the name ΜΗΤΙΚΟΣ is also known from a Chian inscription seems to confirm my suggestion.

²⁵⁵ In p. 174, he dates the inscription before Alexander's campaign based on the use of the form εο instead of ευ which seems to have been in use prior to the late 4th century BC.

²⁵⁶ For this inscription of the ΤΟΤΕΙΔΕΣ faction, see Zolotas, 1908, 175-6; Forrest, 1960, p. 172, no. 1; SEG, 19, (1963), no. 583; Heisserer, 1980, pp. 115-6; Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, no. 176, p. 387. On the date of the inscription: Forrest, p. 174, c. 330-20 BC, Heisserer, c. 315 BC

²⁵⁷ ΠΟΣΕΙΔΙΠΠΟΣ adoptive father of ΜΥΣΤΟΣ, appears in Col I, lines 20-21; Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, no. 178, p. 387. ΠΟΣΕΙΔΙΠΠΟΣ son of ΠΑ....., appears in Col I, line 38; Sarikakis, no. 185, p. 388. ΠΟΣΕΙΔΙΠΠΟΣ father of ΦΙΛΤΗΣ, appears in Col I, line 31; Sarikakis, no. 177, p. 387. ΠΟΣΕΙΔΙΠΠΟΣ son of ΕΙΡΗΝΑΙΟΣ, appears in Col I, line 29; Sarikakis, no. 182, p. 387.

²⁵⁸ ΠΟΣΕΙΔΙΠΠΟΣ husband of ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣΙΑ daughter of ΖΗΝΟΦΑΝΗΣ, CIG 2235; Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, no. 179, p. 387

certain identification impossible. The same is also true for ΦΙΛΙΣΤΗΣ, another common name at Chios during this period. It appears on a trichalkon issue of this series and also in the inscription with members of the ΤΟΤΕΙΔΕΣ fraction²⁵⁹ and a number of other Chian inscriptions dating to the early Hellenistic period.²⁶⁰ This name is also one of the earliest recorded in pottery stamps on handles of Chian amphorae, on the whole recovered in archaeological contexts dating to the 3rd century BC.²⁶¹ The proposed period for these stamps is too general to suggest a definite link between the individual who engraved his name in the stamps and his namesake moneyer.

7. Archaeological finds: Two worn and unidentified coins belonging to issues of the chalkous denomination of Series 16 were found in undated contexts in different excavations on the island of Rhodes (Rhodes Museum, accession nos. 862 and 11, unpublished). The finds are of no particular use for the dating of the series but together with the other coin of the same denomination found in the hoard from Attica, mentioned above, suggest that small value Chian coinage was beginning to circulate outside the island.

²⁵⁹ ΦΙΛΙΣΤΗΣ son of Κ..., Col I, line 45. For this individual see Sarikakis, no. 128, p. 454.

²⁶⁰ ΦΙΛΙΣΤΗΣ son of ΙΣΧΙΜΑΧΟΣ, in a catalogue of subscribers published by Zolotas, 1908, p. 204, no. 7, l. 57-8; A. Plassart & C. Picard, BCH 37, 1913, pp. 193-235 & pp. 448-449, p. 214, no. 27; Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, no. 127, p. 454. The date proposed for the inscription is generally the 3rd century BC. The name ΦΙΛΙΣΤΗΣ without patronymic in another inscribed catalogue of names was published by Zolotas, 1908, p. 276, no. 188, l. 3; SGDI, IV, 4, 2, no. 58, p. 879; Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, no. 121, p. 453. The date proposed for this inscription is the late 4th century BC. The name ΦΙΛΙΣΤΗΣ without a patronymic also appears in an unpublished inscription, Chios Archaeological Museum, cat. no. 815, B, 2, 2; Sarikakis, refers to this name in *Chian Prosopography*, no. 122, p. 454, and proposed a date for it in the 4th century BC.

²⁶¹ Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, no. 125, p. 454, has collected all references to published pottery handles bearing the name of ΦΙΛΙΣΤΗΣ. The handles originate from the Agora and the Kerameikos in Athens, Delos, and Tigani a region of Samos; the last find is unpublished but was included by Sarikakis.

DRACHM ISSUES ON THE ATTIC STANDARD

SERIES I [M. 57a] c. 290-70

Obv: sphinx, identical in style to the sphinx depicted on some issues of Series 16, seated to the l., bunch of grapes in front. Type encircled within a circle consisting of tiny dots.

Rev: amphora in the centre, name of moneyer in field to the r. ethnic XIOΣ in field to the l. Issues usually carry a mint symbol in the rev. type to the l. of the moneyer's name. The rev. type is encircled within a circle consisting of tiny dots

Av. weight (9 coins): 4.07g

Moneyer: EONOMOS, ear of grain symbol in the rev. type.

One obverse and two reverse dies used in total..

London

B. M.:
no 855, ex Ratto coll. Lugano auct. 4/4/27, no. 1993; 16.00 mm, 3.96g, 12; [E]ONOMOΣ, coin is worn.
Obverse Die no. 1, reverse Die no 1. **fig. 1**

Ex Ward coll. {Sotheby Zurich Auct. 4-IV-1973}
no. 682; 18.00 mm, 4.28g, die axis not recorded; EONOMOS
Obverse Die no. 1, reverse Die no. 2. **fig. 2 ***

New York

A. N. S.:
Ex. C.S. Bement coll.
Geneve Auct. Naville 1924, no. 1500; 18.00 mm, 3.97g, die axis not recorded; EONOMOS
Obverse Die no. 1, reverse Die no. 1. **fig. 3 ***

Moneyer: HIΘEOS, no symbol in the rev. type

Vienna

K. M.:
18.00 mm, 4.01g, 12; HIΘEOS. **fig. 4 ***

Moneyer: HPIΔANOS, ear of grain symbol in the rev. type.

Cambridge

F. M.:
M. c., no 8369; 16.00 mm, 3.66g, 1; HPIΔANOS. **fig. 5 ***

Moneyer: ΘEOΠΟΜΠΟΣ, race torch symbol in the rev. type.

One obverse and two reverse dies used in total.

London

B. M.:
no 56; 17.00 mm, 3.90g, 12; ΘEOΠΟΜΠΟΣ, coin is pierced
Obverse Die no. 1, reverse Die no. 1. **fig. 6**

Vienna

K. M.:
no 17922; 16.00 mm, 4.23, 12; ΘEOΠΟΜΠΟΣ
Obverse Die no. 1, reverse Die no. 1. **fig. 7 ***

Munich

M. K.:
17.00 mm, 4.19g, 12, ΘΕΟΠΟΜΠΟΣ
Obverse Die no. 1?, reverse Die no. 2. *

Private coll.; unknown owner
no details known; ΘΕΟΠΟΜΠΟΣ. Illustrated by V. Grace in booklet of American School at Athens (for a reproduction of this illustration see **fig. 12**)
Obverse Die no.1, reverse Die no. 1

Moneyer: ΚΗΦΙΣΟΚΡΙ[ΤΟΣ], no symbol in the rev. type (not included by Maurogordato)

Ex. Lockett coll. {auctioned and sold on several occasions more recently in N. A. C. auct. Feb. 1990}
no. 2863; 18.00 mm, 4.24g, 12; ΚΗΦΙΣΟΚΡΙ[ΤΟΣ]. **fig. 8 ***

Moneyer: ΤΙΜΟΚΛΗΣ, ear of grain symbol in the rev. type.

Helling 1930, no. 315; Hirsch, Munich sale catalogue 1909, part of lot no. 2253 {ex G.Philipsen collection, Copenhagen}
16.00 mm, 4.06g, die axis not recorded; [Τ][Μ]ΟΚΛΗΣ;
Obverse Die no. 1 of ΕΝΟΜΟΣ. **fig. 9 ***

Reichmann Lagerkatalog I. May 1921
no. 810, 4.01g, ΤΙΜΟΚΛΗΣ. **fig. 10 ***

Unidentified issue of ΕΝΟΜΟΣ, ΗΡΙΑΔΑΝΟΣ, or [Τ][Μ]ΟΚΛΗΣ

Cambridge

F. M.:
L. c.; 16 mm, 3.97g, 12; the coin is flat worn and damaged. An ear of grain symbol is visible in the reverse type. **fig. 11**

SERIES 16 c 290-70

Type 16.I [M. 56g] 17-16 mm

Obv: sphinx seated to the l. with small bunch of grapes in front of it; the type is much smaller to any sphinx on previous bronze series, and identical to that of the preceding silver issues,.

Rev: amphora in the centre, name of moneyer in field to the r., ethnic legend XIOΣ in field to the l.

Trichalkon av. weight 3.84g

Issues of different moneyers are die linked and the obverse die count has been made collectively for the issues. One reverse die was used by each moneyer.

Moneyer: AΘHNIKΩN; issue unknown to Maurogordato

London

B. M

M. 1949-4-11, no 883; 3.49g, 11; AΘHNIKΩ[N]; obverse Die no. 1. **fig. 1**

Moneyer: BATIΣ

London

B. M.

M. 1949-4-11, no 885; 3.99g, 6; BATIΣ; obverse Die no. 2. **fig. 2**

Athens

N. M.:

K. 1913-4, ΚΓ' no 1; 3.54 g, 6; BATIΣ; obverse Die no. 2

Paris

B. N.:

no 3148 A; 3.44g, 6; BATIΣ; obverse Die no. 3. **fig. 3**

dup. sec.:

3.57g, 7; BATIΣ; obv. D.?

Istanbul

A. M.:

no. 6898; 3.47g, 6; BATIΣ; obverse Die no. 3, recorded by Hardwick, **fig. 4**

no. 6899; 4.13g, 6; BATIΣ; obverse Die no. 4, recorded by Hardwick

Issues known from undertypes

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:

no 1572, a coin of Series 17 signed by ΗΓΕΜΩΝ is overstruck on a coin of BATIΣ. The name legend of the undertype correctly reads [BA]TIΣ, not ...ΣΙΣ as recorded in the SNG Copenhagen; 2.96g, die axis of undertype not clear.

Paris

B. N.:

no 3119, an issue of Series 17 of the moneyer ΣΤΑΦΥΛΟΣ is overstruck on an issue of BATIΣ. Traces of undertype read BAT[IΣ]. 4.76g, die axis of undertype not clear

Moneyer: ΗΠΙΔΑΝΟΣ

Istanbul

A. M.:

no 6903; 3.07g, 11; ΗΠΙΔΑΝΟΣ; obverse Die no. 1. recorded by Hardwick **fig. 5**
no 6904; 2.93g, 11; ΗΠΙΔΑΝ[ΟΣ]; obverse Die no. 5. recorded by Hardwick **fig. 6**
no 6905; 3.61g, 11; ΗΠΙΔΑΝ[ΟΣ]; obverse Die no. 3. recorded by Hardwick **fig. 7**

Issue known from undertype

Paris

B. N.:

no 3071, a coin of Series 17 signed by ΗΡΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ, is overstruck on a coin of ΗΠΙΔΑΝΟΣ . Traces of letters of undertype read ΗΠΙΔΑ[ΝΟΣ]. 3.64g, die axis of undertype not clear.

Moneyer: ΘΗΡΩΝ

Paris

B. N.:

no 3079; 5.41g, 12; ΘΗΡΩΝ; obv. D. ?. **fig. 8**

Moneyer: ΚΗΦΙΣΟΚ[ΡΙΤΟΣ]; issue unknown to Maurogordato.

Istanbul

A. M.:

no. 6914; 4.06g, 1; ΚΗΦΙΣΟΚ[ΡΙΤΟΣ]; obverse Die no. 6. recorded by Hardwick. **fig. 9**

Moneyer: ΚΡΙΤΩΝ

Istanbul

A. M.:

no. KD, 757-203; 2.80g, 2; ΚΡΙΤΩΝ; obverse Die no. 1?. recorded by Hardwick. **fig. 10**

Moneyer: ΜΗΤΙΚΛΟΣ; issue unknown to Maurogordato.

Athens

N. M.:

1899-1900; 4.96g, 11; [ΜΗ]ΤΙΚΛΟ[Σ], not ...ΓΙΚΛΟ as recorded by Maurogordato, 1916, p. 288. Obverse Die no. 7. **fig. 11**

N. York

A.N.S.:

A coin of this type is illustrated in A. Baldwin's article [A. J. N. vol xlviii, 1914, p 50, fig. 17]. The name of the moneyer reads [ΜΗΤ]ΙΚΛ[ΟΣ], not [.....] ΙΚΛ[ΗΣ] as was recorded by Baldwin p. and followed by Maurogordato, 1916, p. 288. No other details of this coin are not at present available. obv. D. 2

Issue known from undertype

Paris

B. N.:

Dup. sec.:

A coin of Series 17 signed by ΘΕΡΣΗΣ is overstruck on a coin of ΜΗΤΙΚΛΟΣ. Traces of the letters of the undertype readΤΙΚΛΟ. Weight of coin 4.32g. Die axis of undertype is unclear.



Moneyer: MHTIK[OΣ]; issue unknown to Maurogordato

Istanbul

A. M.:

no. 6918; 3.01g, 6; MHTIK[OΣ]; obverse Die no. 6?. recorded by Hardwick. **fig. 12**

Moneyer: NIKOMHΔHΣ; issue unknown to Maurogordato.

London

B. M.:

M. 1949-4-11, no 884; 3.82g, 6; NIKOMH[ΔHΣ]; obverse Die no. 8. **fig. 13**

Athens

N. M.:

K. 1913-4 ΚΓ', no 2; 4.94g, 6; NIKO[MHΔHΣ]; obverse Die no. 4?. **fig. 14**

Moneyer: ΣΑΝΝΑΣ; issue unknown to Maurogordato.

Istanbul

A. M.:

no. 6919; 4.27g, 12; ΣΑΝΝΑΣ; obverse Die no. 9. recorded by Hardwick. **fig. 15**

Moneyer: ΦΙΛΙΣΤΗΣ

London

B. M.:

M. 1949-4-11, no 856; 3.69g, 7; ΦΙΛΙΣΤΗΣ; obverse Die no. 6. **fig. 16**

Athens

N. M.:

no 5-14-8; 4.65g, 7; ΦΙΛΙΣΤΗΣ ; obverse Die no. 10. **fig. 17**

Berlin

M. K.:

L. 1906; 3.48g, 6; [Φ]ΙΛΙΣΤΗΣ; obv. D. 6. **fig. 18**

Type 16.II [M. 58a and 58b] 12-10 mm

Types same as above.

Chalkous av. weight: 0.96g

Moneyer: ΒΑΤΙΣ

London

B. M.

M. 1949-4-11, no 922; 0.85g 12 ΒΑΤΙΣ. **fig. 19**

Athens

N. M.

K. 1913-4; 0.85g 12 ΒΑΤΙΣ.

Moneyer: ΗΙΘΕΟΣ

Athens

A. c.:

no 6 of unpublished coin hoard found off the eastern coast of Attica in the early 1970s, Lagos, 1996, p. 272-7; 12 ΗΙΘΕΟΣ obverse Die no.1. **fig. 20**

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:

VL. no 1557; 1.21g 12 [H]ΙΘΕΟΣ. **fig. 21**

Moneyer: ΠΟΣΕΙΔΑ[ΠΠΟΣ]

London

K. c.:

no. 1299; 1.02g, 12 ΠΟΣΕΙΔΑ[ΠΠΟΣ] obverse Die no. 1

Cambridge

F. M.:

L. c.; 0.96g 1 ΠΟΣΕΙΔΑ[ΠΠΟΣ] obverse Die no. 1. **fig. 22**

Oxford

A. M.:

M. 1924; 0.96g 12 ΠΟΣΕΙΔΑ[ΠΠΟΣ]. **fig. 23**

City of Rhodes, Greece

Archaeological Museum of city of Rhodes: Uncertain coin (possibly of this issue) found in excavation on Rhodes island and in Museum inv. no 672. Cast available but no further details became available. **fig. 24**

Type 16.III not included by Maurogordato , 8mm

Types same as above but sphinx seated l. or r.

Hemichalkous (?)

Moneyer: ΗΙΘΕΟΣ, sphinx seated r.

Berlin

M. K.:

L. 1906, no 13/2168; 1.13g 12 ΗΙΘΕΟΣ. **fig. 25**

Moneyer: ΜΗΤΙΚΛΟΣ

Berlin

M. K.:

L. 1906; 1.41g 5 ΜΗΤΙΚΛΟΣ. **fig. 26**

II. 5. ATTIC WEIGHT DRACHMS, SERIES II (Pl. IV, figs. 1-8)

1. Chian silver issues during the second half of the 3rd century BC:

As we saw the earliest 'Posthumous Alexander' type coinage of Chios dates to the 290s BC, but this type of coinage continued to be produced by the island throughout the remainder of the century.²⁶² From c. 270 BC and onwards the mint turned almost exclusively to the issue of Alexander type tetradrachms and subsequently very little coinage of the single drachm denomination of this type was struck.²⁶³ This pattern of issues matches a sharp decline in the production of 'Alexander' one drachm denominations by mints of Ionia, and other regions of western Asia Minor during the same period.²⁶⁴

Bauslaugh believes that the cessation of the issue of Alexander one drachms in this region after c 280 BC -and in contrast to the continued issue of this type of tetradrachms- may have been caused by a resumption of striking of local drachms bearing civic types.²⁶⁵ The same would also seem to apply for the monetary situation at Chios, since the local mint was scarcely producing any issues of the one drachm Alexander type denomination during this period and may have been replacing it with civic type drachms. In fact, as we saw, the first of these civic drachms by Chios date in the early 3rd century BC, and below I discuss a further series of the same type that was struck in the middle of the century. However we may note

²⁶² For 3rd century BC Chian Alexander type coinage struck after the initial issues, see Bauslaugh, *Posthumous Chian Alexanders*, pp. 12-21, Period 2, ca 270-220 BC; pp. 21-29, Period 3, ca 202/1-190 BC. In Price, 1991, these issues are recorded in pp. 300-2, nos 2331-2374, dated c. 270-210 BC & pp. 302-4, nos. 2375-2404, dated c. 210-190 BC.

²⁶³ This point is made clear from die study of the issues belonging to the early and middle of the 3rd century BC. From Bauslaugh, Period 1, 61 coins of the one drachm are known struck with 17 obverse dies, with only six contemporary tetradrachms struck with five obverse dies. From Bauslaugh Period 2, 79 tetradrachms are known struck with 25 obverse dies; drachms from this period are exceptionally rare with only three recorded specimens struck with different obverse dies; Bauslaugh, *Posthumous Chian Alexanders*, p. 2, 'Synopsis of the coinage'.

²⁶⁴ On the decline in the issue of Alexander type single drachms in Asia Minor see Price, 1991, pp. 208-9.

²⁶⁵ Bauslaugh, *Posthumous Chian Alexanders*, pp. 11-12, f. 23, with reference to mints in Asia Minor -Ephesus, Samos, Miletus, Magnesia, Teos, Priene, Erythrae- which the editors of BMC had proposed in the past as having struck civic drachms between c 300-190 BC. However recent numismatic works suggest that the issue of civic drachms during this period would have been much more restricted than previously thought, see below.

that both these drachms were on a small scale and it is unlikely that they could have filled the gap created from the cessation of the issue of the same denomination of Alexander types. Presumably the latter would still have continued circulating for some time after they were last issued and covering local needs for low value silver coinage.²⁶⁶ This may also apply for other cities of Asia Minor where there is a limited issue -or even apparent lack- of civic drachms following the cessation of issues of Alexander one drachms locally. It seems that the transition from an Alexander type drachm to a civic type only becomes apparent for Chios at the end of the 3rd century BC, and afterwards, when civic type drachms start to be issued in increasingly large numbers (see pp. 203-72).

The sharp decline in the number of issues of the single drachm denomination shows that the tetradrachm could amply cover the need of the cities (including Chios) for silver coinage of the Alexander type and probably during this period it was not profitable for a mint to continue striking smaller silver denominations. Alternatively it is likely that after the second quarter of the 3rd century BC there were no longer reasons for cities to resort to striking the drachm denomination in large numbers, as might have been the case earlier in the century. Presumably the authorities may have ceased paying certain expenses where previously this denomination was required.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁶ The prolonged use of this type of coinage after it ceased to be struck is attested from the hoard evidence, see E. Papaefthymiou, 'Un trésor (1995) de 80 drachmes aux types d' Alexandre III' in *Mneme Martin J. Price*, pp. 119-134, p. 133, n. 10, with bibliographical references to this circulation. Chian Alexander type one drachms are frequently found in hoards down to the late 3rd century BC, see Bauslaugh, *Posthumous Chian Alexanders*, pp. 41-42. Other evidence of the prolonged use of Chian Alexander type drachms long after their issue is also attested at Chios from the overstriking of a civic type drachm of the early 2nd century BC on such an issue (see below, p. 225, drachms of the reduced Attic standard, Group B, PL. XV, fig. 15)

²⁶⁷ The issue of fractions of the tetradrachm probably indicates state expenditures paid out in small amounts of money and on a regular basis, e.g. payment for mercenaries. Tetradrachms are linked with larger transactions, as in international trade or state funded projects.

2. General aspects of the civic type drachms:

A small group of Chian civic type drachms is placed chronologically by this study during the middle of the 3rd century BC or shortly afterwards. Three issues have been identified, each one bearing the name of a different moneyer, ΑΓΓΕΛΙΣΚΟΣ, ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ, and ΛΕΩΜΕΔΩΝ. Only eight coins in total are known for the series; the majority of these (five coins) belong to the ΛΕΩΜΕΔΩΝ issue, while two coins are known for ΑΓΓΕΛΙΣΚΟΣ and a single coin for ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ.

Drachms of Series II are stylistically dissimilar to the civic type drachms of Series I and also differ in other aspects, including the striking technique since drachms of Series II are on larger and more spread flans than drachms of the earlier series.²⁶⁸ This feature suggests that they were struck after those of the first series and following an interval of a few years. They probably date from the second quarter of the 3rd century BC and afterwards, when the flans of silver issues were beginning to spread and become thinner (see below).²⁶⁹ As with the earlier drachms of Hellenistic Chios, issues of Series II are also struck on the Attic weight - judging from the weight of individual coins which have seen little circulation- giving an average weight of 4.14g (see the coin catalogue for the average weight of individual issues).

Bronze issues were struck alongside Series II, and a common moneyer, discussed in detail below, signed issues in both types of coinage. As with Series I, the link with the bronze coinage has offered us strong evidence on dating the drachms of Series II since bronze issues are dated with some accuracy (see pp. 133-8, on the proposed date of issue for Series 17).

²⁶⁸ As we saw, flans of drachms of Attic Series I measure 18-16mm in diameter, while those of Attic Series II, 20mm. There is no real weight difference between the two series but coins from the earlier series are struck on a much thicker flan than the later issues.

²⁶⁹ The diameter of the silver Hellenistic issues remained on the whole constant between the time of Alexander and c. 280 BC. From this period onwards the flans tend to become thinner and spread, see Morkholm, 1991, p. 12, who argues that even though the diameter of a silver coin can give no indication by itself of an accurate date for the issue, the comparison of diameters of successive individual coins of issues from the same mint can establish their relative sequence. Kinns, 1980, p. 59, considers the small diameter and 'comparatively thick fabric' as evidence - among other factors- that a silver issue of Erythrae (AR III, IV) may date before c 200 BC and earlier than previously thought.

In total two obverse and three reverse dies were used for the entire series. All six known coins of ΑΕΩΜΕΔΩΝ were struck from a single pair of dies and so were the two coins of ΑΓΓΕΛΙΣΚΟΣ. The obverse die of the ΑΕΩΜΕΔΩΝ issue was also used in striking the issue signed by ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ, forming the only known die link between issues of different moneyers of this series. It is clear that the amount of coinage produced would have been small, probably smaller than that struck earlier in the century with Series I.

3. Proposed dating: Maurogordato classified the above issues alongside the remaining drachm issues of Hellenistic Chios, dated by him c 190-87 BC (1916, p. 308, and p. 330-1), but specified that these belong to the early part of the period (c 190-133 BC?). Nevertheless his attempt to associate this particular group of drachms with the large bulk of Hellenistic drachms that come after c 200 BC is erroneous; the two groups of drachms were struck on different standards and therefore are not likely to have been issued for circulation during the same period.²⁷⁰

A date of issue of c 250 BC for these drachms is suggested by the appearance of the name of ΑΕΩΜΕΔΩΝ, a moneyer in charge of one of these drachms, on a number of bronze issues belonging to Series 17, with a proposed date of issue around the mid 3rd century BC (these are Groups B, C, D, of Series 17, see the following chapter, p. 123, Table I). The types of the silver and bronze issues bearing this name are also stylistically identical,²⁷¹ confirming that the issues were indeed produced by a single individual, and not by two namesakes. As the discussion of the epigraphic evidence will show, ΑΕΩΜΕΔΩΝ also happens to be a rare name at

²⁷⁰ The later drachms of Chios are struck on a reduced form of the Attic standard, with an average weight of c. 3.80g (see pp. 203-72, the chapter on drachms of this weight standard). There is a significant weight difference between drachms on the 'full' and those on the 'reduced' Attic weight which would have been noticed had the coins circulated together.

²⁷¹ The obverse type of the drachm is identical with that of the bronze issue of the same moneyer in Group D and the same die engraver seems to have produced dies for both silver and bronze coinage.

Chios, adding further weight to the suggestion that one moneyer was responsible for the drachm and the bronze issues bearing this name.

The only notable difference between the drachm and the bronze issues of ΑΕΩΜΕΔΩΝ is the prow of a galley mint symbol appearing in the reverse type of the drachm issue,²⁷² but absent from the types of bronze issues bearing this moneyer's name. It is likely that coinages of ΑΕΩΜΕΔΩΝ in different metal may have been under the control of different mint officials, who added their own symbols on the coinage (for the use of mint symbols see pp. 612-8). The prow of the galley symbol appears on a group of bronze issues (Groups F, see p. 123), dating a short time after those of ΑΕΩΜΕΔΩΝ, suggesting that this moneyer probably struck his silver coinage slightly later than his bronze issue and at a time when the bronze coinage was issued by other moneyers.

The unique drachm of ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ is also of a similar style to a bronze issue of Series 17 bearing this name, which also happens to be known from a single coin.²⁷³ Both issues may therefore be considered as contemporary, but in view of the fact that the name ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ was popular with Chians of the 4th and 3rd centuries BC (see below) we cannot be certain if a single moneyer or two different contemporaries of the same name were involved. The eight-rayed star depicted as a mint symbol on the reverse of the drachm issue is absent from the bronze issue bearing the same name; it does however appear as a mint symbol in the obverse type of issues of Groups F and G of Series 17 (p. 123, Table I). As we saw, the former group also bears the prow of galley symbol in the reverse type of the issues and this is further

²⁷² R. H. J. Ashton, 'Rhodian bronze coinage and the earthquake of 229-226 BC', NC 146, (1986), pp. 1-18, p. 10, refers to Rhodian silver issues dating c 265-250 BC and a Rhodian tetradrachm dating in the last quarter of the 3rd century BC which bear a prow of ship as a mint symbol in their reverse types, at about the same position as the Chian drachm of ΑΕΩΜΕΔΩΝ. It is more likely that this appearance of one common mint symbol contemporaneously at two different mints is merely a coincidence or that the mints were copying each others' mint symbols and should not be treated as evidence of a cooperation between the two mints.

²⁷³ Compare the types of coins illustrated Pl. IV, fig. 8 (drachm) with Pl. XIII, Series 17. II, fig. 3 (bronze).

evidence that the drachms signed by ΛΕΩΜΕΔΩΝ and ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ were struck during the same period, coinciding with the production of bronze issues, Group F, of Series 17.

The name ΑΓΓΕΛΙΣΚΟΣ is not found on any known issues of Series 17 and the lack of a mint symbol in its reverse type makes it difficult to associate it with a particular bronze group based on the use of a common mint symbol, as happened with the previous two drachms.²⁷⁴ The types of this issue are stylistically similar to those of issues in Group D, possibly suggesting the work of a single die engraver.²⁷⁵ The evidence, based as it is solely on stylistic criteria, is not strong, but I would hazard in saying that the drachm issue of ΑΓΓΕΛΙΣΚΟΣ was probably contemporary with bronze issues belonging to Group D of Series 17, with a date of issue slightly after 250 BC (see p. 138).

The letter form ζ in the legends of this particular issue seemed to Maurogordato (1916, p. 330) to be earlier than the 2nd century BC, his proposed date for the issues. However this important clue for dating the issue of the drachms was dismissed by him as an *archaism* on the part of the die engraver. The date proposed for these issues in this study -during the 3rd century BC- shows that the die engraver was in fact using letter forms that were current at his time. We may also note that other letters in the legends of the drachms are also of forms firmly dated within this century.²⁷⁶

During the period c 280-220 BC only a tiny minority of Ionian cities struck any silver issues bearing civic types.²⁷⁷ The fact that Chios issued its silver coinage bearing civic types

²⁷⁴ Note that only Group B of Series 17 (see p. 123, Table I) lacks a mint symbol but issues in this group are stylistically dissimilar to those appearing on the ΑΓΓΕΛΙΣΚΟΣ drachm.

²⁷⁵ Compare types appearing on the drachm of this moneyer, illustrated Pl. IV, figs. 1-2, with those on bronzes of Series 17, Group D illustrated Pl. VIII.

²⁷⁶ The letters omicron Ο and omega Ω are depicted as much smaller compared to the other letters. For a detailed discussion of the letter forms appearing in issues of Chios during this period see the chapter on Series 17, see p. 136. The appearance of a large number of moneyers' names in issues of Series 17 has made possible to study the forms of different letters, not possible for the drachms since their issues only bear the names of three moneyers.

²⁷⁷ Kinns, 1980, pp. 342, gives virtually no civic type silver to Erythrae, Teos, Lebedus, and Colophon, during the period c 280-220 BC. Few cities in Asia Minor issued silver coinage with civic types at the time (notably

probably reflects that the city was politically independent from the early 3rd century BC and onwards. A free Chios during this period is also suggested from a variety of evidence which I presented in the historical background (pp. 19-28) and the study of the coinage seems to offer further evidence in support of this theory.

4. Epigraphic evidence: The name ΑΕΩΜΕΔΩΝ only occurs once in a Chian inscription of any period. This is the inscription recording the donations of *king Attalus* to the city of Chios and includes a reference to one of his local tenants on the island -possibly the wealthiest, to judge from the property he held-, whose father was named ΑΕΩΜΕΔΩΝ.²⁷⁸ As we saw in the discussion of the historical background (p. 30) this inscription would date around the time of the siege of Chios by Philip V in 201 BC.

This plausible, and widely quoted, date for the Attalus inscription shows that ΑΕΩΜΕΔΩΝ, the father of Attalus's tenant, would have been active a few decades earlier, than the end of the century, and probably during the middle of the 3rd century BC. This happens to be the period proposed for the issues signed by the moneyer of this name. Based on this contemporarity of the moneyer and the individual named in the inscription -especially in view of the great rarity of the name- it is likely that the same individual may have been the father of the tenant and the namesake moneyer.

The name ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ is common at Hellenistic Chios and eight individuals bearing it are known from inscriptions dating to the 3rd century BC (Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, pp. 210-1). An individual named ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ, whose father also had the same name, is recorded in the inscription with members of the ΤΟΤΕΙΑΕΣ faction, dating to the late 4th or early 3rd

Ephesus, Priene and Knidos); this is discussed by Morkholm, 1991, p. 158-60, who concludes with the statement that the period c 280-30 BC, 'marks the lowest ebb of civic type silver coinage for the Hellenistic period.'

²⁷⁸ ΑΕΩΜΩΔΩΝ father of ΔΕΙΝΟΜΑΧΟΣ line 29; Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, no. 45, p. 288. For references to this inscription and evidence on its date see the chapter on the historical background, p. 30.

century BC;²⁷⁹ he belongs to a slightly earlier period than that of the drachms under consideration. Another individual is named in a gravestone which can only be generally dated to the 3rd century.²⁸⁰ The last quarter of the century is better represented in the epigraphic sources. Two different individuals of this name contribute money towards the rebuilding of the city walls probably c 201 BC.²⁸¹ One of these has also the patronymic ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ making him probably a relative of the earlier ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ who was member of the ΤΟΤΕΙΑΕΣ faction and bore the same name also as patronymic.

A Chian representative to the Delphic Amphictiony named ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ is honoured in an inscription of Delphi generally dating c. 215-205 BC.²⁸² The absence of his patronymic - unusual for so important an inscription- may be attributed to the fact that his father also had the same name, in which case he may be the same as the contemporary individual, bearing the same name and patronymic, contributing money towards the repairing of the city walls. Finally the father of a Chian youth who won a victory at the 'pagration' contest at the games in honour of the god Aesclepius on the island of Cos in 208 BC (?) was also named ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ.²⁸³

The above individuals lived during the second half of the 3rd century BC, coinciding with the proposed period of issue for the drachm and bronze issues signed by their namesake moneyer. However there is no further evidence linking any of these individuals to the coinage, even assuming that the moneyer(s) may be found in this group of individuals. The most important individual of this name referred to in the surviving records is the representative of

²⁷⁹ ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ son of ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ, Zolotas, 1908, 207, no. 8; Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 210, no. 108

²⁸⁰ Η[Ρ]ΟΔΟΤ[Ι]ΟΣ father of [ΗΡ]ΑΚΛ[Ε]ΙΤΟ[Σ], Plassart-Picard, 1913, p. 202, no. 23; Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 211, no. 109

²⁸¹ ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ son of ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ: contributes the sum of fifty drachms; Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 210, no. 111; Η[ΡΟΔΟ]ΤΟΣ son of ΠΟ[Λ]ΥΜΗΔΗΣ contributes the sum of fifty drachms; Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 211, no. 120

²⁸² ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ of Chios: F. Delphi III. 2, 86, lines 11-12; Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 210, no. 110.

²⁸³ ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ father of ΑΡΗΙΚΛΗΣ, see T. Klee, *Geschichte gymnischen Agonen*, Berlin, 1918, p. 7; Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 210, no. 112.

Chios to the Delphic Amphictiony, but this is not evidence on its own that he may also have acted as a moneyer. On the contrary, the names of Chian representatives to Delphi are conspicuously absent from the surviving issues dating to this period.²⁸⁴

The name ΑΓΓΕΛΙΣΚΟΣ is not common at Chios for it appears in only two inscriptions, both of which are dated to the 3rd century BC. The first is a catalogue of contributors, dating to the early part of the century and includes an individual of this name contributing money to an unknown project together with his unnamed sons.²⁸⁵ The second inscription is one of the few official state decrees of the city of Chios to have survived. It dates in the middle of the 3rd century BC and is a record of the decision by the Chian state to offer recognition of the ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑ festival, held by the Aetolian League.²⁸⁶

The decree records that the magistrate [ΑΠΟ]ΛΛΩΝΙΔΗΣ, son of ΑΓΓΕΛΙΣΚΟΣ, who held the office of ΕΞΕΤΑΣΤΗΣ at the time -together with another official, ΜΕΛΗΣΙΠΠΟΣ, with the title of ΠΟΛΕΜΑΡΧΟΣ- acted in accordance to their authority by bringing forward this proposal to the Chian demos. In light of the importance of this motion, the office of [ΑΠΟ]ΛΛΩΝΙΔΗΣ must have been high in the government of Chios.²⁸⁷ It is interesting that the proposed date, of about the middle of the 3rd century, for the drachm signed by ΑΓΓΕΛΙΣΚΟΣ matches that of the decree -I would say that probably they are no more than a decade apart. Moneyers striking during this period do not seem to have been the eponymous magistrates of the city but rather officials of lesser importance or even private citizens (see chapter on typology, pp. 619-24). I find it

²⁸⁴ Out of a total of 20 Chian representatives to the Delphic Amphictiony between 248 and 189 BC, only a single one, ΣΚΥΜΝΟΣ, may possibly be identified with a contemporary moneyer, see below the discussion on the chronology of Series 17.

²⁸⁵ ΑΓΓΕΛΙΣΚΟΣ son of Κ.....ΩΝ. L. Robert, BCH. 57, 1933, p. 508, l. 7; Sarikakis, 1989, p. 11, no. 88

²⁸⁶ For references to this inscription see the historical background, p. 25, where I discuss political links between Chios and the Aetolian League.

²⁸⁷ Official decrees at Chios are usually headed by the names of officials bearing the titles ΠΟΛΕΜΑΡΧΟΣ, ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣ, ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΣ, or ΕΞΕΤΑΣΤΗΣ. Another important decree of Chios dated to the end of the 3rd century BC and concerning the repairing of the city walls (see below) is headed with the names of magistrates of the offices of ΠΟΛΕΜΑΡΧΟΣ and ΕΞΕΤΑΣΤΗΣ. For a discussion of the little evidence we have on the structure of the government of Chios during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, see p. 619.

therefore unlikely that this moneyer could have been the father of a near contemporary figure holding such a key position in the Chian government. If however the moneyer is in fact a relative of the magistrate [ΑΠΟ]ΛΛΩΝΙΔΗΣ, as the rarity of his patronymic would suggest, then it is likely that ΑΓΓΕΛΙΣΚΟΣ, the moneyer signing this drachm issue may have been a son of this [ΑΠΟ]ΛΛΩΝΙΔΗΣ and therefore named after this magistrate's father (ΑΓΓΕΛΙΣΚΟΣ), who would also have been his namesake paternal grandfather.

5. Types of Chian drachms referred to in local inscriptions during the 3rd century BC:

During the last quarter of the 4th century BC inscriptions always include in records of drachms the term 'Alexander', something we would expect in light of the fact that this was the only available silver coinage at Chios at the time. This continues well into the 3rd century BC, but at the same time we start finding in Chian inscriptions drachms lacking the term 'Alexander'. The latter recorded drachms probably allude to the contemporary use at Chios of 'Alexander' and civic type drachms.

In one case it seems that these different coinages were specifically allocated for different types of expenditures. In the Chian decree of the middle of the 3rd century BC honouring the Aetolian League for accepting Chios in the council of the Delphic Amphictiony, we have records of expenditures in both types of drachm coinage.²⁸⁸ The highly official character of this document and the fact that 'Alexander' drachms are mentioned on two different occasions, makes it unlikely that in the only instance in the inscription where the drachms are not referred with the term 'Alexander' this could have been the result of absentmindedness on the part of the inscription's engraver. It seems that the latter drachms

²⁸⁸ Lines 23 and 27 of this inscription record the purchase of a wreath of gold paid in Alexander type coinage, while in line 48 there is a sum of thirty drachms, without the epithet 'Alexander', voted as payment for the expenses of the first Chian delegate at Delphi. The inscription is discussed in the historical background, p. 25, where I quote all references.

were likely to mean a different type of coinage to that of the 'Alexander' types; this would almost certainly have consisted of issues bearing civic types. The evidence of this inscription seems to suggest -something already known from the numismatic evidence that I discuss above- that the different types of coinage (Alexander and civic) were struck and circulating during the same period at Chios.

However this inscription also hints to the use of these coinages for different purposes. The 'Alexander' drachms were used in the purchase of a gold crown - probably from abroad- in honour of the Aetolians, while the 'non Alexander' drachms were voted for paying the expenses of the first Chian delegate to be sent to Delphi. Though the inscription is not clear at this point it is possible that the money may have been intended to furnish the delegate with provisions at Chios for his journey, which would justify the use of civic type drachms for this expense.²⁸⁹

In another inscription generally dating to the 3rd century BC recording regulations for a public subscription there is a reference to drachms to cover local expenses at Chios; these lack the term 'Alexander' and are therefore likely to be of the civic type (L. Robert, BCH 1933, p. 473-85, no. 1, line 39).

²⁸⁹ The recorded sum of thirty drachms is too small for so important a position to represent anything more than the initial expenses of the delegate. It seems that the money may have been allocated to him for purchasing supplies at Chios for his voyage to Delphi

DRACHM ISSUES ON THE ATTIC STANDARD
SERIES II [M. 61] c 250

Av. weight of the series (7 coins): 4.14g

Obv.: sphinx, identical in style to that on a few issues of Series 17, seated to the l., bunch of grapes in front; dotted circle round flan.

Rev.: amphora in the centre, name of moneyer in field to the r., ethnic legend XIOΣ in field l. Some issues carry mint symbol in the rev. type between a break of the ethnic legend or in the field l. The whole within a vine wreath tied once at the end with fillets.

Moneyer: ΑΓΓΕΛΙΣΚΟΣ, no symbol in the rev. type, and no break in the ethnic legend

One obv. and rev. die

Athens:

N. M.:

Zolota donation. MH'Z 1907-8; 19.00 mm, 4.13g, 12; ΑΓΓΕΛΙΣΚΟΣ; published by Svoronos in JIAN, 1910, p. 44. The former owner of this coin was the Chian scholar, Amalia Zolota, and almost certainly this coin would have been found locally at Chios. The coin was also illustrated in C. Seltman, *Wine in the Ancient World*, London, 1957, XIV, no. 5. where it is wrongly described as bronze. **fig. 1***

Auction Cat. des Monn. Grecq. et Romain. Hotel Schweizerhof, Lucerne. 1926, no. 1822; 19.00 mm, 4.16g, die axis not recorded; ΑΓΓΕΛΙΣΚΟΣ. **fig. 2***

Moneyer: ΛΕΩΜΕΔΩΝ, there is a break in the ethnic legend XI-ΟΣ and prow of war-galley symbol appears in the reverse type in a break in the ethnic legend.

One obv. and rev. die

London

B.M.:

856; 21.00 mm, 4.07g, 12; ΛΕΩΜΕΔΩΝ; coin overstruck on other issue . **fig. 3***

New York

A. N. S.:

Philipsen coll. {Hirsh, sale's cat. 1909}: no. 2252; 19.00 mm, 4.21g, die axis not recorded; ΛΕΩΜΕΔΩΝ. **fig. 4***

M. Mag. 68. 1986.

no. 1379; 21.00 mm, 4.18g, die axis not recorded; ΛΕΩΜΕΔΩΝ. **fig. 5***

Ex Jameson coll. {auctioned as part of the W. Niggeler coll. in 1. Teil, Griech. Munz. no. 393 by Munz. und Med., Auktion in Basel, Dec 1965}

no. 393; 21.00 mm, 4.17g, die axis not recorded; ΛΕΩΜΕΔΩΝ. **fig. 6***

Ex Ward coll. {Sotheby, Zurich Auction 4 -4-1973}

no 681; 22.50 mm, 4.12g, die axis not recorded; ΛΕΩΜΕΔΩΝ. **fig. 7***

Moneyer: ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ, there is a break in the ethnic legend XI-ΟΣ and a star symbol appears in the reverse type to the l. of the ethnic legend and not in the legend break. This drachm was not included by Maurogordato.

Same obv. die as the following issue in the name of ΛΕΩΜΕΔΩΝ

Boston:

D. c. ; no. 2331; 3.80g, 11; ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ, coin is worn. **fig. 8**

II. 6. SERIES 17 (Pls. IV-XIII)

1. General aspects: Series 17 represents the largest production of bronze currency ever undertaken by the Chian mint during antiquity. Many coins are known to exist, the bulk of which seem to have originated from coin hoards, and die studies also reveal that the volume of the coinage was indeed great and on a scale unprecedented in any of the earlier issues of Chios. However, the coinage of this series is of base metal with each coin -even of the largest denomination- representing a very small value and it is unlikely that the state struck these issues in order to finance a major project or to pay for a large expense, as would have been the case had the coins been struck in precious metal. This fact inhibits any attempt to associate this coinage with a particular event in the history of Chios or to assume on its own that it may reflect a period of prosperity (see below on the proposed dating for this series).

The reason behind the issue of a large quantity of base metal coinage with Series 17 may be linked to an attempt at one point by the state to raise money without having to issue and place in circulation new amounts of precious metal coinage.²⁹⁰ Furthermore by striking this coinage the mint also resolved the long-running problem of scarcity of small change at Chios since it created a standard token currency consisting of small denominations, that were regularly struck and available in large volumes.

Issues of Series 17 feature the same types as all earlier Chian series of the Hellenistic period (obverse: sphinx, reverse: amphora) but also usher in two new minor typological features that will become standard on many later bronze coinages of this mint. First of all, mint symbols appear regularly next to the main types on the issues, a feature first deployed on

²⁹⁰ This reason is considered by numismatists to have driven the mint at Miletus to issue a large bronze coinage during the 3rd century BC, see P. Kinns, 'The coinage of Miletus, Review-Article', *NC*, (1986), pp. 233-260, p. 248; also N. F. Jones, 'The autonomous wreathed tetradrachms of Magnesia on Maeander', *ANSMN* 24, (1979), pp. 63-109, pp. 84-90.

civic type drachms of Series I, though not on the contemporary bronze series.²⁹¹ The use of a mint or control symbol parallel to the appearance of a moneyer's name in the legend suggests that two moneyers were involved in the same issue; a principal one who placed his name on the coinage and a secondary official, supervising the overall production of the mint, who added the mint symbol as a mark of identification.²⁹²

Mint symbols would have been introduced on silver issues as a safeguard that each coin was struck on the right weight standard and with good quality silver (Kraay, 1976, p. 5). However in the case of this bronze series it would seem that the increased workload associated with the volume of coinage struck for this series may have forced the appointment of more than one official, or moneyer, in charge of individual issues, and that the production of bronze coinage was re-organized on the same lines as that of the silver.

The second typological development introduced with Series 17 is a change in the traditional position of the sphinx, from facing left to facing right, on the larger and most common issues of the series (the trichalkon, see below). I think that this change should not be interpreted as a sign of wider political developments at Chios of the period,²⁹³ for which, anyway, we have no evidence. In my view it would constitute nothing more than an ordinary typological change. In any case this change seems to have been anticipated earlier on a (?) hemichalkous of Series 16 signed by the moneyer $\text{H}\Theta\text{E}\text{O}\Sigma$, where the sphinx faces to the right, even though larger denominations from the same series always depict the sphinx facing to the

²⁹¹ The bunch of grapes symbol appearing frequently in front of the sphinx on coins of the Classical period may have been first used as the mint symbol by a moneyer (this is suggested by Hardwick, 1991, p. 14). It is found on all issues of Series 15-16 but seems to have been used there as part of the main type, not as a mint symbol. However on issues of Series 17 the bunch of grapes is clearly used as a mint symbol since it appears only in a few issues, and in exactly the same position where different mint symbols also appear on other issues of Series 17. This feature is discussed in detail in the chapter on typology, p. 613.

²⁹² See Morkholm, 1991, p. 32, for the use of mint symbols on the Hellenistic coinage; for an interpretation of the various mint symbols appearing on the coinage of Chios, see the chapter on typology, pp. 612-4

²⁹³ For an opposite view see Kroll, 1979, p. 146, who attributes a change of the position of the owl type on successive bronze Athenian issues of the early Hellenistic period to a possible change in the government of Athens at the time.

left (see Pl. III, fig. 25). Here it is likely that the change of the direction of the type was devised as a feature for distinguishing the different denominations from each other.

2. Trichalkon: The denominational system of this series comprises three denominations. The largest of these, type 17.I, is struck on a module ranging between 17-15 mm and a weight averaging 3.8g. This issue is the most common in the Chian series with over 600 coins recorded in this study alone (for illustrations, see Pls. IV-XII).²⁹⁴ The average weight and module of the coins is similar to that of the common types of the earlier Chian Hellenistic Series (14-16) and therefore the denomination is almost certainly that of the trichalkon. Confirmation of this seems to lie with the fact that a number of coins of Series 14-16 of this denomination were subsequently used as flans for striking coins of Series 17, presumably of the same denomination (see below).

Coins of the trichalkon of this series were struck in two different modules but of similar weight. The bulk of these issue have wide and spread flans measuring approximately 17 mm, whilst a significant minority were struck on smaller but thicker flans compared to above and measuring approximately 15 mm (for illustrations of examples of the latter issues see Pl. VII, fig. 4; Pl. X, fig. 5, 18; Pl. XI, fig. 9; Pl. XII, fig. 6). The difference in module could convey the impression that issues of the smaller size may be fractions of the larger sized issues. However the moneyers and types are the same on issues of both modules and as I discuss below (p. 121), denominations of this series were distinguished from each other, among other features, by the use of different types. In most cases the weights of the smaller sized coins are similar or even heavier than the larger ones. More importantly, both issues include specimens bearing the same countermark which is never encountered on coins that are clearly identified as belonging to smaller denominations (see below).

²⁹⁴ A further 150 coins became available while I was finishing this study and are not included here.

The evidence suggests that these issues of different module belong to the same denomination. It seems that the mint at some point developed a new technique for striking coins of the trichalkon denomination and produced a number of coins on a thicker flan but of smaller module. Such issues were produced in all the different groups of this denomination and by most moneyers. Eventually they seem to have become more popular than issues of this type on the larger and more spread flans, since one of the recorded hoards of the series (IGCH 1338, Chios 1917) consists of 36 coins of this denomination, which -with a single exception- were struck on the smaller module. This seems to suggest that these particular coins may have been purposely selected for hoarding and preferred over larger ones.

3. Fractional denominations: Three different fractional denominations of the trichalkon seem to have been issued. The largest of these is type 17.II, with a module of 14 mm and an average weight of 1.80 g; almost certainly this type would represent the dichalkon denomination.²⁹⁵ An even smaller fraction is type 17.III, with a module of approximately 10 mm and a weight averaging 1.00 g.; this is half the module and the weight of the previous denomination and I consider to be half its value and therefore a chalkous. A tiny coin, of 8 mm diameter, is known from a single specimen in the Berlin Coin Cabinet. Issued in the name of ΕΡΜΩΝΑΞ, its types are similar to those of issues bearing this moneyer's name in the dichalkon and chalkous denominations. Its weight is close to that of issues of Series 17.III, but it was produced from dies conspicuously smaller than the chalkous issue of the same moneyer (compare the module of the coin illustrated in Pl. XIII, Series 17. II, fig. 1, with coin of Series

²⁹⁵ In the chapter on bronze denominations, p. 512, I have collected issues of the dichalkon of different mints but of the same period as this Chian issue with which they share an identical weight and diameter.

17. IV, fig. 1).²⁹⁶ This unique coin may represent a different and smaller denomination to the chalkous, possibly a hemichalkous (type 17.IV).²⁹⁷

Issues of the dichalkon (type 17.II) seem to have been struck intermittently since the moneyers' names and mint symbol present on the bulk of the known specimens are identical with those found on issues of the trichalkon belonging to a single group (see below). The seven recorded specimens (all of which are illustrated in Pl. XIII, Series 17. II, figs. 1-7) show signs of a long circulation. Their small numbers may account for them having seen a longer circulation than the trichalkon, and quite unlike the majority of coins of the trichalkon showing few signs of circulation. The chalkous (type 17.III) is represented by a total of 44 recorded coins struck from a large number of dies and showing a much greater variety and frequency of issue than that for the dichalkon. Only two different issues of the chalkous bear a mint symbol, a bunch of grapes in the reverse, (see coins of ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ, Pl. XIII, Series 17 III, figs 6-8, and the unique coin of ΤΙΜΑΝΔΡΟΣ, fig. 15) suggesting that the remaining issues may have been struck by moneyers not under the control of mint officials.

The existence of only one extant coin that may be identified as a hemichalkous suggests that this denomination was either not popular or in little demand. The exclusion of the denominations smaller than the trichalkon from hoards at Chios may contribute to their present scarcity (see below for a general discussion of hoards). Nonetheless the survival rate of these fractional issues -with the exception of what I consider to be the hemichalkous- is much higher than that of similar Chian denominations dating to the earlier Hellenistic series.

The different denominations of Series 17 are distinguished not only by size and weight but also typological features. The clearest such case appears to be the dichalkon where the

²⁹⁶ Unfortunately the sphinx type is struck off the flan of this coin and cannot be compared to that appearing on the chalkous. The amphora type is however much smaller.

²⁹⁷ Although this seems to be contradicted by the weight of the coin, which is similar to that of the chalkous, it must be pointed out that for so small a denomination the weight would not even have been noticed and therefore not used for identifying its denomination. On this subject see the chapter on denominations, pp. 508-9.

sphinx is depicted in the older posture facing to the left, in contrast to all other denominations where it faces to the right. It seems that this type was adopted to make easier to distinguish the dichalkon from certain issues of the trichalkon that were struck, as we saw above, on smaller flans than most other issues of this denomination; the size of these coins appears to be close to that of the dichalkon and therefore types were employed as markers of value. The hemichalkous issue provides us with another example of the mint using types for distinguishing individual denominations. Its types are much smaller than those of the chalkous, the next denomination up the ladder in value, making it obvious to the users of the coinage that this was a different denomination -and of lower value- to the chalkous.

Shortly after issues of Series 17 had been struck an attempt was made to supplement the three smaller denominations (17.II-IV) with a coinage employing types which are stylistically different to those of Series 17. These are discussed as a separate series (Series 18).

4. Group division, relative sequence, and duration of the issues:

There is a total of 33 different moneyers' names present on issues of the series. 26 names on the trichalkoi issues, some of which also appear on issues of the other denominations, and seven of which are found exclusively on issues of fractions of the trichalkon. Considering that the series was struck over a period of probably no more than a half century (see below), the onomastic evidence shows the great organisational effort that was put into its production and the consistency and regularity in striking the coins.

Issues of the trichalkon display a wide and complicated system of mint symbols that appear in the obverse and reverse types, making it possible to arrange them into nine smaller and successive groups by reference to these symbols, see **Table I** with individual groups including names of moneyers and symbols appearing in issues of each group. As a rule, the

symbols appear on the obverse in front of the sphinx and to its right. Those on the reverse are always to the left of the amphora, usually in a break in the middle of the ethnic legend but occasionally in the field between the amphora and the ethnic legend. Some issues bear a second symbol on the reverse which is usually found in the field to the right and next to the base of the amphora or in a break in the legend of the name of the moneyer, depending on the individual group. Issues bearing these secondary symbols are not classified in separate groups, but as varieties of groups with which they share the same basic mint symbols. The reason for this is that the issues showing an extra mint symbol were struck by the same moneyers as the other issues and always share with them the same obverse dies.

Table I

	Obv. symbol	Rev. symbol	Moneyers	Illustrations
A	ear of grain	bunch of grapes	ΑΡΓΕΙΟΣ ΗΓΕΜΩΝ ΗΡΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ ΘΕΡΣΗΣ ΙΚΕΣΙΟΣ	Pl. IV, figs 1-14 Pl. V, figs 15-35
B	ear of grain	no symbol	ΛΕΩΜΕΔΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΑΝΘΟΣ ΦΟΙΝΙΞ	Pl. VI, figs 1-14
C	no symbol	ear of grain	ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ ΚΗΦΙΣΙΔΗΣ ΛΕΩΜΕΔΩΝ	Pl. VII, figs 1-15
D. i	bunch of grapes	ear of grain	ΑΣΠΑΣΙΟΣ ΛΕΩΜΕΔΩΝ ΚΗΦΙΣΙΔΗΣ ΤΙΜΑΝΔΡΟΣ	Pl. VIII, figs 1-7, 7, 11-12, 18-20 Pl. VIII, figs 8-10, 13- 17, 21-22
D. ii	bunch of grapes	grain/star		
E. i	bunch of grapes	race-torch	ΚΗΦΙΣΙΔΗΣ ΛΑΜΠΡΟΣ ΚΥΛΛΑΝΟΣ	Pl. IX, figs 1-4, 10-13, 18-20 Pl. IX, figs 5-9, 14-17, 21-27
E. ii	bunch of grapes	torch/wing		
E. iii	race-torch	no symbol	ΛΑΜΠΡΟΣ	
F	eight-rayed star	prow of galley	ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΑ[ΧΟΣ] ΚΥΛΛΑΝΟΣ ΣΤΑΦΥΛΟΣ	Pl. X, figs. 1-20
G	eight-rayed star	caduceus	ΓΝΩΣΙΣ ΤΗΛΕΜΑΧΟΣ	Pl. XI, figs. 1-12
H	eight-rayed star	no symbol	ΤΙΜΟΚΛΗΣ	Pl. XI, figs. 13-15
I	club	arrow	ΚΑΥΚΑΣΙΩΝ ΜΕΝΕΣΘΕΥΣ ΣΩΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ	Pl. XII, figs. 1-20

This subdivision of Series 17 into smaller groups has proved helpful in trying to establish the relative sequence of its individual issues. As different symbols are found next to the main types, these are combined with the moneyers' names appearing in more than one group, to produce a plausible reconstruction of the succession for the groups. Out of more than 600 coins studied and recorded in this study only two can be positively identified as having been overstruck on issues from the same series, but different groups, thus offering only very slight evidence on the chronological order of the issues.²⁹⁸ Further, issues of different groups do not show any real difference in either module or weight and stylistical changes between different groups are slight (see the discussion below).

Maurogordato (1916, pp. 308-312) subdivided the series into two individual groups; 'type 62a', comprising of all issues except those in the final group (Group I, in this study), and coins of the latter group forming a separate group, 'type 62b'. He furthermore arranged chronologically the individual issues based on stylistical differences of the types and the occurrence of the *tripod countermark* on issues of different moneyers (1916, pp. 336-8); however both criteria as we will see are proven flawed. As these issues were produced over a relatively short period there is little evidence of a development in the style used by different moneyers, and I will show that the application of the countermark is unrelated to the chronological sequence of the individual issues.

A few coins of Series 17 are overstruck on earlier issues of the local mint and almost all of these belong to a single group, Group A. The undertypes are clearly visible on some of the coins suggesting that there could only have been a short time gap between the striking and circulation of the earlier issues and the introduction of issues of this group of Series 17 (see the discussion below on the proposed chronology of the individual groups of issues). Issues of

²⁹⁸ A coin of ΑΣΠΑΣΙΟΣ, illustrated in Pl. VIII, fig. 1, is overstruck on a coin from an issue of Group A; a coin of ΓΝΩΣΙΣ, Pl. XI, fig. 4, is overstruck on a coin from an issue of Group G.

Group A seem to have been the first struck in Series 17 and further evidence supporting this suggestion is found in the style of their types. This is identical to that of types of a drachm issue of Attic Series II and bronze issues of Series 16 signed by ΗΙΘΕΟΣ (see Pl. II, fig. 4, for the drachm and Pl. III, figs. 20-21, 25 for coins of the bronze issue). It is almost certain that the dies in both cases were produced by the same engraver indicating the near contemporarity of Series 16 with Group A of Series 17.

Without the knowledge of the overstriking and the typological similarities between issues of Series 16 and those of Group A, it would have seemed reasonable to consider issues of Groups D and E as the earliest struck in Series 17, since both bear a bunch of grapes next to the sphinx. This feature as we saw is typical of all issues of Series 15-16, but only found in issues of Groups D-E for the entire Series 17. Another known feature that might have led us to a wrong proposed succession for the groups is the publication of an overstruck coin of Group A signed by ΗΓΕΜΩΝ (Copenhagen Coin Cabinet, no 1572). Part of the moneyer's name for the undertype is visible and was recorded in SNG, Copenhagen, as ..ΣΙΣ. The only known moneyer to have issued bronze coinage at Chios during the early Hellenistic period and possessing a name with this ending is ΓΝΩΣΙΣ of Group G (see Table I). This would have made us assume that issues of Group A were overstruck on those of Group G from the same series and could therefore not have been issued first in the series. However my own inspection of this coin at Copenhagen has revealed that the first *sigma* in the name appearing in the undertype is in fact the letter τ and the ending should be recorded as ..ΤΙΣ. This ending in the moneyer's name fits that of only one known Chian moneyer of the Hellenistic period, ΒΑΤΙΣ, who signed an issue of Series 16. Almost certainly the undertype would have been a coin of his issue, representing an overstriking of an issue of Series 16 by one of Series 17, something which as we have seen, is a common occurrence.

Issues of Group B are linked to those of Group A, as they share the same obverse mint symbol, and have therefore the same obverse type. Die studies have revealed that one of the moneyers of Group B, ΛΕΩΜΕΔΩΝ, used the same obverse dies with moneyers of Group A.²⁹⁹ It would seem from this evidence that issues of Group A were followed by those of Group B, probably within a very short period. The moneyer ΛΕΩΜΕΔΩΝ was also in charge of issues in two further groups, C and D, making it likely that the two latter groups were produced not long after Group B. Issues of Group D and E are linked by the use of the same obverse type and the appearance of a common moneyer of the name ΚΗΦΙΣΙΔΗΣ. The name ΚΥΛΛΑΝΟΣ appears in both issues of Group F and E suggesting another link between different groups of this series. The presence of these names in common on different groups would suggest that the issues of these groups would have been struck close in date. Finally issues of Groups F, G, and H, are linked by the use of the same mint symbol on the obverse, though it must be noted that this symbol (an eight-rayed star) does not appear in the exact position for all three groups and therefore the types are slightly different.

We may note that all three names appearing in more than one group -ΛΕΩΜΕΔΩΝ, ΚΗΦΙΣΙΔΗΣ, ΚΥΛΛΑΝΟΣ- happen to be rare names at Chios; in particular, the names of ΚΗΦΙΣΙΔΗΣ and ΚΥΛΛΑΝΟΣ are known at Chios exclusively from these issues since they are absent from Chian inscriptions (see below the discussion of the epigraphical evidence). It would seem on this evidence that the moneyers whose names appear in issues of different groups are likely to be the same individuals rather than different namesakes. The presence of the names of these moneyers on successive issues demonstrate that Groups A-F were struck within a relatively short period.³⁰⁰

²⁹⁹ See the coin of ΛΕΩΜΕΔΩΝ illustrated Pl. VI, fig. 1 and the coin of ΗΡΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ illustrated Pl. IV, fig. 12; the coin of ΛΕΩΜΕΔΩΝ illustrated Pl. VI, fig. 4 and the coin of ΑΡΓΕΙΟΣ illustrated Pl. IV, fig. 2

³⁰⁰ Maurogordato, 1916, pp. 339-340, states that ΣΩΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ, a moneyer of Group I, also issued a coin bearing the types of an issue of Group E and suggests a link between the two groups. He claims to have seen such a

Table II

Group B	ΛΕΩΜΕΔΩΝ		
Group C	ΛΕΩΜΕΔΩΝ		
Group D	ΛΕΩΜΕΔΩΝ	ΚΗΦΙΣΙΑΗΣ	
Group E		ΚΗΦΙΣΙΑΗΣ	ΚΥΛΛΑΝΟ
Group F			ΚΥΛΛΑΝΟ

As we saw above, a total of three moneyers were in charge of issues in more than one group; one of these, ΛΕΩΜΕΔΩΝ, even struck coins in three groups. Furthermore there is a close stylistic similarity between types appearing on issues of different groups,³⁰¹ with the exception of the last group. Issues of Group I show types of a different style to the rest of the series and also make use of a different control system comprising letters in the exergue of the obverse type, which is missing from other groups. These features place Group I separately from the rest of the series and suggest that they may have been struck some time after the others.³⁰²

All groups (including Group I) share the same weight range, size, and die axis; striking techniques also provide us with a further link between issues of the different groups. This is especially clear as regards the small module trichalkoi which appear to have been struck in almost all of the different groups. The evidence supplied by the study of hoards is generally in support of such an arrangement for the relative sequence of the groups. In all known hoards containing these issues, coins from the earlier groups (A-H) show signs of having circulated for some time, while issues of the final group (I) are nearly always in an uncirculated state. It therefore comes as no surprise to see that the bulk of coins from the latest issues of Group I in

unique coin bearing these types in the Athens Numismatic Museum; this however does not exist there today, and I am therefore not using this evidence since I cannot corroborate it.

³⁰¹ Though I disagree with the observation by Maurogordato, 1916, p. 331, that the style is uniform for all issues. A study of the illustrations of coins from different groups shows some slight stylistic differences between the issues, mainly centred on the depiction of the wing of the sphinx.

³⁰² The typological and stylistic differences of these issues compared to the remaining issues in the series led Maurogordato in placing them in their own 'type', apart from the rest of the issues. As I discuss in the chapter on typology, this typological difference is not restricted only to the obverse sphinx type but also extends to the amphora on the reverse. Some of the coins of this group seem to bear a particular amphora type which may be of a different shape to the one appearing on all other issues of Series 17.

coin collections show little sign of circulation. None of the coins in the hoards show signs of having circulated for a long time and sustaining more than a moderate amount of wear. The various aspects of the coinage we have considered suggest that the entire series may have been produced, at most, within a few decades.³⁰³

A coin of Group A is clearly overstruck on a coin from a mint other than Chios (Pl. IV, fig. 10). This is a rare instance where a foreign coin has been used as a flan for striking a Chian coin. The undertype clearly depicts a cantharus, but in light of the popularity of this type, and the rather standardized form used extensively by the Greek city mints, it has been impossible to ascertain the authority that produced this particular issue. This is indeed unfortunate for in such a case it would have been used as strong evidence for dating the Chian series and even if this issue was not dated with accuracy (which is true for most civic coinages of the period), the date proposed for the Chian series would have offered an indication of the date of the foreign issue. It would also allude to commercial contacts between Chios and this unknown Greek city.³⁰⁴

The names and mint symbol appearing on most coins of the dichalkon denomination are the same as those on trichalkoi issues of Group C (see Table III). This shows that the same moneyers were also in charge of the bulk of issues for this denominations. A single known coin bearing the name of ΘΕΡΣΗΣ, but with no mint symbol, suggests that some dichalkoi may have been struck alongside Group A with the earliest trichalkoi issues of Series 17. The name ΕΡΜΩΝΑΕ appears on another dichalkon issue but this name is not found on any of the trichalkon issues. This issue is typologically and stylistically identical to issues of Series 17 and we can be certain that it belongs to this series; it bears no link to issues of the trichalkon

³⁰³ Maurogordato, 1916, p. 331, also considered the coinage to have been issued around fifty years based on the 'uniformity of style about these issues'. This is not the case as far as style is concerned (see above), but the rest of the evidence supports his proposed duration for the striking of the issues.

³⁰⁴ I would like here to acknowledge the valuable assistance of Dr Penna and Dr Kinns in trying to identify the issuing city of the undertype. Candidates include a wide range of cities, Teos, Lampsacus, Mytilene, Andros e.t.c.

of Series 14 bearing this name. However since this dichalkon -as that of ΘΕΡΣΗΣ- lacks a mint symbol we cannot associate it with a particular group of 17.I.

Issues of the chalkous bear moneyer's names that are also found on the other two denominations and in all such cases they are also stylistically identical showing that they were struck by the same individuals and not namesakes. Issues in the names of ΗΡΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ, ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΑ[ΧΟΣ], ΕΡΜΩΝΑΞ, ΣΤΑΦΥΛΟΣ, ΤΙΜΑΝΔΡΟΣ are all linked to issues of larger denominations (trichalkon, dichalkon) signed by the same moneyer and are therefore contemporary. A few other issues bear names that are absent from other denominations and in these cases it is the style of the types that give us clues as to the chronology of the issues. For example, the issue of ΛΥΣΙΚΡΑ[ΤΗΣ] (Pl. XIII, fig. 9) is shown to be contemporary to that of Group D, since both share an identical style; that of ΣΚΥΜΝΟΣ (figs.10-12) is stylistically similar to issues of Group F, and therefore of a later date to the previous issue. The chalkoi issues signed by ΦΑΝΑΓ[ΟΡΑΣ] (figs. 16-19) and ΗΡΟΚΡΑ[ΤΗΣ] are contemporary with Group I since their types are identical to those of issues of this group. Furthermore these chalkoi show in the obverse exergue - underneath the sphinx- the letter I (a clear example of this is illustrated in fig. 16), a feature clearly copied from issues of the trichalkon of this group.

Some coins of the chalkous are clearly overstruck on other issues of the same denomination which is helpful in establishing their relative sequence. In two cases the undertypes can be identified; a coin of ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ in the Ashmolean collection (fig. 7) is overstruck on an issue of ΦΑΝΑΓ[ΟΡΑΣ] since part of the name of the moneyer is visible in the undertype.³⁰⁵ Another coin of ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ in the Berlin Coin Cabinet is overstruck on an issue of ΣΚΥΜΝΟΣ (fig. 8) and the name of this moneyer is also partly visible in the undertype. These

³⁰⁵ This is clear from an enlarged photograph of the coin included in Pl. XIII. I would like to thank Dr W. Metcalf curator of the Ashmolean Museum for providing the photograph of this coin.

overstriking would suggest that ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ may have been the final moneyer to issue chalkoi in this series.³⁰⁶

Table III records issues of the denominations smaller than the trichalkon which are linked to their respective trichalkon issue through the use of common moneyers or style.

Table III

Group	trichalkon	dichalkon	chalkous	hemichalkous
A	ΗΡΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ ΘΕΡΣΗΣ	ΘΕΡΣΗΣ	ΗΡΟΣΤΡΑ[ΤΟΣ]	
B		ΕΡΜΩΝΑΞ	ΕΡΜΩΝΑΞ	ΕΡΜΩΝΑΞ
C	ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ ΚΗΦΙΣΙΔΗΣ ΛΕΩΜΕΔΩΝ	ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ ΚΗΦΙΣΙΔΗΣ ΛΕΩΜΕΔΩΝ		
D	ΤΙΜΑΝΔΡΟΣ		ΛΥΣΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΣΚΥΜΝΟΣ ΤΙΜΑΝΔΡΟΣ	
F	ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜ[ΑΧΟΣ] ΣΤΑΦΥΛΟΣ		ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜ[ΑΧΟΣ] ΣΤΑΦΥΛΟΣ	
I			ΦΑΝΑΓ[ΟΡΑΣ] ΗΡΟΚΡΑΤ[ΗΣ]	

³⁰⁶ The chalkous of Series 17 corresponds to Maurogordato, (1916, p. 314-5), type no. 65. In his catalogue however, Maurogordato has also included under this type a few issues that are not part of this series. The issue signed by ΑΠΟΛΛ[ΩΝΙΔΗΣ] and assigned to this series belongs to Series 19 and [Φ]ΑΙΝΟ... to Series 18; see the relevant chapters on these series where I quote the evidence for placing the issues in these respective series.

5. Die studies: Due to the large number of coins recorded in this study I have not included here a detailed die study for the series as with other rarer issues. This task is more suited for a future publication where it will be possible to display illustrations from all recorded coins, rather than a selected few as with this study. The study of dies here aims to establishing whether or not different moneyers shared common obverse dies and also to give an indication of the pattern in the size of issues for the different groups.

A small number of die links were found between issues of different moneyers within the same groups, but in a smaller extent than that of all earlier bronze coinages of the Hellenistic period. Common obverse dies used by different moneyers are recorded for Groups A,³⁰⁷ B,³⁰⁸ C,³⁰⁹ D;³¹⁰ not a single die link was found between different moneyers in Group F. Only moneyers striking issues in the Group I seem to have used in common a fair number of obverse dies,³¹¹ suggesting that they may have been issuing coinage at the same time rather than in succession.

The die study has shown that issues of different groups do not to use common obverse dies even in cases where they share the same obverse type with other groups.³¹² The only exception to this is the issue of moneyer ΑΕΩΜΕΔΩΝ belonging to Group B which, as we saw, used dies in common with moneyers striking issues in Group A.

Die study of approximately half (300 coins) of the recorded coins has revealed a large number of dies for Groups A and I; approximately 70 different obverse dies were counted for

³⁰⁷ The coin of ΑΡΓΕΙΟΣ is illustrated in Pl. IV, fig. 4; that of ΗΓΕΜΩΝ in Pl. IV, fig. 7 and ΘΕΡΣΗΣ, Pl. V, fig. 19

³⁰⁸ See the coin of ΑΕΩΜΕΔΩΝ illustrated Pl. VI, fig. 1 and coin of ΦΟΙΝΙΞ illustrated Pl. VI, fig. 13; coin of ΑΕΩΜΕΔΩΝ illustrated Pl. VI, fig. 3 and coin of ΦΟΙΝΙΞ illustrated Pl. VI, fig. 14; coin of ΠΟΛΙΑΝΘΟΣ illustrated Pl. VI, fig. 7 and coin of ΦΟΙΝΙΞ illustrated Pl. VI, fig. 12

³⁰⁹ Coin of ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ illustrated Pl. VII, fig. 3 and coin of ΚΗΦΗΣΙΑΗΣ illustrated Pl. VIII, fig. 8

³¹⁰ Coin of ΑΕΩΜΕΔΩΝ illustrated Pl. VIII, fig. 10 and coin of ΤΙΜΑΝΔΡΟΣ illustrated Pl. VIII, fig. 15

³¹¹ See fig. 8 of ΜΕΝΕΣΘΕΥΣ and figs. 2, 6 of ΚΑΥΚΑΣΙΩΝ; fig. 12 of ΜΕΝΕΣΘΕΥΣ and fig. 20 of ΣΩΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ. A further three die links between moneyers have been recorded though no illustrations are included in the present study.

³¹² Even though their obverse types are the same no die links have been found between issues of Groups C and D and Groups E and F.

the former and 40 for the latter. Other groups show a smaller number of obverse dies, ranging in numbers between 30-20. At the far end of the scale is Group D and F with nine obverse dies each and Group H with only two obverse dies.

Dies in each group show a close stylistic affinity suggesting that they were produced possibly by the same die engraver. In a few cases I have come across stylistically similar dies suggesting that some die engravers were probably involved in issues of different groups. The work of the same artists can be detected in issues of Groups A-B, and Groups D-E; this to a certain degree might be expected since these different issues use the same obverse types and die links have been recorded for issues of the first two groups. However in one case it seems that the same die engraver was working in groups bearing different obverse types. These are Group E and Group G and a comparison of illustrations of different coins shows identical styles for the sphinx.³¹³

On the whole obverse dies were not shared between moneyers of different groups, making it likely that the issues may have been struck at regular intervals, possibly annually or of a few years, and care was taken in producing new dies for different moneyers. This is uncommon in earlier bronze series of Chios of the Hellenistic period where die sharing between different moneyers was the rule. Interestingly even in cases where the same moneyers struck issues in different groups the mint resorted to producing new reverse dies with the moneyer's name (see above). It is therefore likely that the dies were worked to their limit and became worn after producing a large quantity of coinage. The evidence postulates that the issues were closely struck together and that Groups A-H may have been struck for a period of probably no more than three decades (?) with Group I appearing some years later.

³¹³ Compare examples of coins illustrated in Pl. IX (Group E) with coins illustrated in Pl. XI (Group G)

Denominations smaller than the trichalkon on the whole seem to lack die links between issues of different moneyers. Only two different issues of the chalkous bearing the names of ΦΑΝΑΓΟΡΑΣ and ΗΡΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ made use of a common obverse die.³¹⁴ Coins of the dichalkon denomination are too worn to allow any clear die studies.

6. Proposed dating for the series: In earlier numismatic works these issues were dated either in the 2nd or the 1st century BC based not so much on numismatic, or other reliable evidence, but on general ideas pertaining to the causes and function of ancient coinage that were widely accepted at face value during the 19th and early 20th century. Numismatists believed that a large coinage during antiquity, such as the one under consideration, could only have been struck by a wealthy and powerful state. The idea that economic growth and political prowess might trigger the production of a voluminous coinage, also weighed heavily on the early students of Chian coinage who sought ‘appropriate’ occasions when Chios of the Hellenistic period could have been able, politically and financially, to produce such a common coinage. The fact that these issues only had token value, since they were struck in base metal, and therefore could not reflect the financial resources of the producing state, does not seem to have been taken into serious consideration.

The editors of BMC (*Ionia*, pp. 334-337) placed chronologically the entire series in the 1st century BC and linked this coinage to the prevailing political conditions following the declaration of Chios as a ‘free’ city by the Roman dictator Sulla in 80 BC. Maurogordato on the other, argued for an earlier date during the first half of the 2nd century BC, and proposed (1916, pp.297-303, pp. 308-312, pp. 314-315, pp. 326-343) that the first issues of this series were introduced in 190 BC or slightly later.

³¹⁴ Pl. XIII, Series 17. III, fig. 4, a coin of ΗΡΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ and fig. 17, a coin of ΦΑΝΑΓΟΡΑΣ]

On the surface at least it would seem that the latter date is more attractive, than that proposed by BMC, since it is thought that Chios during the 2nd century BC was both free and prosperous; in contrast, the 1st century BC was seen as a period of economic decline for the island (see the discussion in the chapter on the economy, pp. 658-9). Nevertheless both chronologies are still widely quoted and referred by scholars and archaeologists alike but a few objections have been raised.³¹⁵

The weight of the available evidence that has appeared since the early 20th century points to the 3rd century BC as the most likely period of issue for Series 17 and contradicts the proposed dates for the issue in earlier numismatic works. No large coinage was attributed in the past to Chios during this century, with the editors of BMC (*Ionia*, p. 332) suggesting some very insignificant coinage,³¹⁶ and Maurogordato (1916, pp. 281-286) few issues of his Groups nos 56-58 (Series 14-16 of this study).³¹⁷ However numismatic evidence shows both to be wrong and this has been corroborated in recent years by archaeological and epigraphic findings which I will present and discuss in the following section.

Maurogordato noted and published key numismatic evidence relevant to the date of issue of the series under discussion. On two separate occasions (1916, p. 283 & p. 300) he states that many of the surviving coins of Series 17 are overstruck on earlier Chian issues and that the undertypes are clearly visible.³¹⁸ This would preclude a date for the issues as late as c. 190 BC, or afterwards, something Maurogordato failed to appreciate. The issues that were

³¹⁵ Kinns, 1980, p. 375, f. 44, considers this series to have been struck in the second half of the 3rd century BC (without however quoting any evidence); Kroll, *Athens Agora XXVI*, p. 270, discusses a possible 3rd-2nd century BC date based on the discovery of one of these coins in such a dated context in the Athenian Agora (see below for this find).

³¹⁶ Note however that even this was considered uncertain since the date proposed in BMC was followed by a question mark.

³¹⁷ Maurogordato generally dates these groups in the period 332-190 BC; since he has not dated the individual groups with any precision it is not clear which of these he has placed in the 3rd century BC.

³¹⁸ Note that Mionnet, 1808, p. 270, was the first to record that a coin of this series was overstruck on an earlier Chian issue.

used as flans for striking coins of Series 17 belong to the Series 14, the earliest issues of Chios for the Hellenistic period (see the coin catalogue for details of coins of Series 17 overstruck on Series 14, 15, 16). These undertypes are on the whole clearly visible, suggesting that the overstruck coins had only been in circulation for a relatively short period prior to the overstriking.³¹⁹ It is unlikely that these coins could have been in circulation for a period of one and a half centuries -between c 330 and c.190 BC- and only sustained moderate wear. We may also note here that bronze coinage circulated more widely and with greater velocity than silver, was hoarded less frequently, and became worn quicker than silver coinage in circulation.

As far as I can tell most overstruck coins are found in Group A (so far 25 have counted in this group).³²⁰ This suggests that the group is probably the earliest in the series. We saw that the earliest group of issues of Series 17 is linked stylistically with the issue of ΗΙΘΕΟΣ of Series 16 and possibly the same die engraver produced for these issues of different series. Since the issue of this moneyer is securely dated shortly before 270 BC I suggest a date in c. 270 BC for issues of Group A. This proposed date also marks the starting point for the issue of the entire Series 17.

As I discussed in the section dealing with the relative sequence of the individual groups, it would seem that all groups of Series 17 were produced within half a century, suggesting a possible cessation of the issues during the last quarter of the 3rd century BC. Such a closing date for the series seems to be independently supported by two different types of evidence. Firstly a monogram on an issue of the Posthumous Alexander type tetradrachms

³¹⁹ Maurogordato, 1916, p. 300, was fully aware of this since he states that, '*these bronze issues* [note: Series 17], *as already reported, are occasionally found struck over coins of type No. 56* [note: Series 14-16], *with the Sphinx to left, showing that they not only followed closely after the latter but that there was a period of scarcity between their dates of issue.*'

³²⁰ 6 of ΑΡΓΕΙΟΣ; 1 of ΗΓΕΜΩΝ; 5 of ΗΡΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ; 9 of ΘΕΡΣΗΣ; 4 of ΙΚΕΣΙΟΣ. Most of the undertypes belong to Series 14 (21) followed by Series 16 (3) and Series 15 (1). with possibly three coins from Group B identified as overstruck on earlier Chian issues and two from Group C.

of Chios, Bauslaugh, Period 3 (*Posthumous Chian Alexanders*, p. 22, Series 46, dating generally to the period c 210-190 BC) very likely represents the name of one of the moneyers in charge of an issue of the final group of Series 17.³²¹ Secondly, an unworn coin from the final group, Group I, was recovered in an archaeological context dated no later than the early 2nd century BC (see below), suggesting that the last issues of Series 17 were already circulating by the end of the 3rd century BC.

Another important clue to the general period of issue for Series 17 may be found in the letter forms appearing in the legends of individual issues. These are identical to letter forms used in inscriptions dated in the 3rd century BC and legends of Alexander type coinage dating c 270-220 BC.³²² In particular, the letters *omicron* O and *theta* Θ are much smaller than others, the right hand vertical of the letter *pi* Π is half that of the left hand, and the horizontal bar of *alpha* A is slightly wavy but never broken or bent. The horizontals of the letter *sigma* Σ are slightly open and not straight. The right horizontal of the letter *ni* Ν is slightly bent. All these letter forms point to a 3rd century BC date and such examples are found in inscriptions

³²¹ The monogram is discussed in Maurogordato, 1916, p. 326-327, and appears on issues of Bauslaugh type 55-106, Price nos 2377-8. Maurogordato deciphered the name as ΜΕΝΕΣΘΕΥΣ -the letters Μ Θ Ε and Ν are included in the monogram- and plausibly identified the moneyer of this tetradrachm with the namesake moneyer who signed bronze issues of Group I. However this proposed link was of no use to Maurogordato's dating for Series 17, since he already placed chronologically all issues of Alexander type tetradrachms after c. 190 BC. Maurogordato also recorded in the British Museum a Chian Alexander type tetradrachm of the same period bearing a mint mark of a sphinx with a club in front of it. This type is identical to that appearing on issues of Group I and he suggested a link between this particular tetradrachm and the bronze group. However no such tetradrachm is recorded either by Bauslaugh or Price and this coin is not found in the Museum collection today. I am therefore reluctant to use this piece of evidence.

³²² Maurogordato, 1916, pp. 326-330 & pp. 333-334, discussed the various letter forms appearing on the Alexander type tetradrachms and issues of Series 17 and stated that the latter bear the same type of letter forms as the earlier tetradrachms; on this basis he concluded that both coinages are contemporary. On the assumption that the Alexander type tetradrachms of Chios are dated during the first half of the 2nd century BC he considered that this date would also apply for the above bronze issues. However as already stated in this study the Alexander type tetradrachms date almost a century earlier than the period Maurogordato considered and consequently this would also apply for the issue of Series 17.

from that period.³²³ Most of these letter forms disappear from inscriptions and Alexander type tetradrachms from the early 2nd century BC.³²⁴

Issues of Group F show letter forms with apices of a distinctive type that are found in a single Chian inscription dating to the 3rd century BC.³²⁵ The coin legends also share with this particular inscription an unusual form of σ with long cursive lines that is not found on any other inscriptions or coin legends; this letter form suggests that issues of Group F are contemporary with this inscription.

Further evidence bearing chronological significance for the dating of Series 17 is found in depictions of the sphinx on various objects, other than coins. Two lead weights, of two and one *mna* respectively (the *mna* was a Greek weight measure used for weighing a large quantity of money) generally dating during the Hellenistic period, bear almost identical sphinx types and are quite close in style to the sphinx type appearing in issues of Series 17, and in particular issues of Group C;³²⁶ presumably the weights would be contemporary with issues from this group. Both lead weights are of the Attic standard,³²⁷ suggesting that they were not produced after the end of the 3rd century BC -when we have the final issues struck on the

³²³ SEG XIX no. 569, the degree honouring Apollophanes and dating in the mid 3rd century BC; Vanseveren, 'Inscriptions de Chios', pp. 327-8, the 'proxenoi catalogues' of the first half of the 3rd century BC.

³²⁴ For a discussion of the letter forms on Chian inscriptions between the mid 3rd century and c 200 BC, see Dewing-Forrest, 1982, pp. 86-7. The last occurrence of the letter form for the letter *pi* discussed here is an inscription dating in c 188 BC and Alexander type tetradrachms of the period 270-220 BC; issues of Chios dating after c. 200 BC bear the new form of *pi* with both vertical bars of equal length, see the discussion in the chapters on drachms of the reduced Attic weight and Series 19. After this period both verticals appearing on this letter are of equal length. During the 2nd century BC the bars on the *sigma* are straight, but the letters *omicron* and *theta* continued to be smaller in size compared to the other letters.

³²⁵ C. A. Trypanis, 'A new collection of Epigrams from Chios', *Hermes*, 88, (1960), pp. 69-74; W. Forrest, *IG XII*, 6, pp. 143-4, no. 497. Maurogordato, 1917, p. 33 states that none of the letters in legends of issues of Series 17 show apices or wedge shaped terminals but he is wrong.

³²⁶ The two *mna* weight was published by M. C. Soutso, 'Poids Antiques', *RN* 1895, pp. 512-556, pp. 535-6; M. Amandry, 'Poids Antiques', p. 97, no. 17, in *Anatolie Antique Fouilles Francaises en Turquie, Catalogue de l'exposition, Bibliotheque Nationale, 1 Dec. 1989-16 April 1990*, (Paris & Istanbul, 1989). An illustration of this weight is found in Pl. VII, fig. A, where I have also included a fine drawing of the sphinx type appearing on the weight -all details are clearly visible- illustrated by Soutso, fig. 12. The one *mna* weight was published by E. Perniche, *Griechische Gewichte*, (Berlin, 1894), pp. 187-8, no. 739; it is illustrated in this study in Pl. VII, fig. B.

³²⁷ The two *mna* weight at 1123.82g (Amandry, 1989, p. 97), and the *mna* weight at 547g (Perniche, 1894, p. 187), agree well with a drachm on the full Attic weight. I would like to acknowledge Dr A. Loutrari for the latter reference.

Attic weight by Chios- since from early in the 2nd century BC, Chios was using a standard for its silver coinage which was lighter than the Attic standard (see below, pp. 203-272). A proposed date in the 3rd century BC for these lead weights is also supported by typological features which are typical of this century, such as letter forms of the ethnic and the amphora appearing in their types (see the discussion in the chapter on typology, p. 597). This evidence suggests that the coin issues of Series 17, Group C, bearing sphinx types similar to those appearing on the lead weights, would date before the early 2nd century BC.

A sphinx engraving in the heading of an honorary inscription for a Chian ambassador at Delos of the name ΠΟΛΙΑΝΘΟΣ, is stylistically identical to the type used on issues of Series 17 bearing this individual's name.³²⁸ As I discuss below in the epigraphic evidence of this series, it is very likely that the moneyer and this ambassador are the same individual, and since the inscription is dated in the first half of the 3rd century BC the same period would also apply for issues bearing the same name as in this inscription.

Series 17 comprises successive issues dating in the period 270-220 BC. We have established a plausible relative sequence and we can attempt an absolute dating for different groups based on evidence from archaeological finds, hoards composed of this coinage, and inscriptions. For reasons of convenience I discuss these types of chronological evidence below in separate sections.

³²⁸ The Delian inscription is published in IG XI. 4, 599, 2, and is generally dated to the first half of the 3rd century BC based on the eponymous magistrate at Delos at the time. The sphinx engraving was not included in the publication but Dr A. Loutrari has kindly provided me with a photograph (illustrated in this study in Pl. VI, fig. A) which was taken on her behalf by the archaeologist, A. Tsaravopoulos, and appears in p. 80 of her unpublished thesis. I wish to thank both. A comparison of this sphinx engraving and the type appearing on the coin issues of the moneyer shows that the sphinx is identical. In particular we may note the depiction of the feathers in both cases drawn as lines springing from the back of the sphinx-which on other issues of Series 17 show slight stylistic differences- and the crouching position of both sphinxes. Even a small detail, such as the headdress of the sphinx, appears to be the same. Based on the great resemblance between the sphinx used as a coin type and that of the heading of the inscription Loutrari, the foremost expert on the type of the Chian sphinx, also concludes that the sphinxes on both the inscription and issues are identical.

7. Trichalkon finds in dated archaeological contexts: Coins of Series 17 seem to be missing from sites outside Chios inspite of the great volume of coinage struck.³²⁹ As a result of this we only possess a few known examples of coins that were recovered in dated archaeological levels and even fewer of these have been published. The contexts of these finds in general are in agreement with a date of issue and circulation for this series during the 3rd century BC. Only a single coin was supposedly found in a context dating to a much later period which seems to agree with the period of issue proposed by the editors of BMC. However the excavator almost certainly misidentified this particular coin find and gave it a wrong reference.³³⁰

A coin of Series 17 was found during the excavation of an ancient farmers' settlement in the region of Pindakas on Chios (Boardman, 1958-9, p. 301 & p. 303).³³¹ The latest pottery from this site dates from the early decades of the 3rd century BC indicating that the site may have been abandoned shortly afterwards. This is confirmed by the fact that no finds dating after this period were made on the site and it would seem more likely that the coin in question may have been lost there while the place was still inhabited rather than after it was deserted

³²⁹ With the exception of a coin found in the Athens Agora (discussed below), no other coin has ever been published with a non Chian origin. L. B. Holland, 'Colophon', *Hesperia* 13, (1944), p. 143, includes a reference to a coin of Chios found in a site at Colophon. The coin lacks any proper reference and it is impossible to know what series it belongs to, only that it is dated by BMC after 84 BC (the only bronze coinage in this section belongs to issues of Series 17 and 19). The coin originates from a site last occupied in the early Hellenistic period, and the dateable coins after c 285 BC include eight coins of Antiochus II and two of Philaeterus of Pergamum, all dating before the middle of the 3rd century BC. The date of these coins would make it likely that the Chian coin may belong to Series 17, but this remains for now uncertain.

³³⁰ J. K. Anderson, 1954, pp. 163-4, records the discovery of a coin bearing the name ΑΡ[Γ]Ε[Ι]Ο[Σ], in a grave dated no earlier than the 1st century BC. The excavation report gives a reference to this coin from BMC identifying it as an issue of the namesake moneyer of Group A, Series 17. Though I have not studied this particular coin it is evident from its description on p. 159 that it has been misidentified and cannot be an issue of Series 17. In the publication, the coin's module is given as 11 mm which is far too small for issues of ΑΡΓΕΙΟΣ, since the smallest recorded module for this issue is 14 mm; this moneyer is only known to have issued coinage of the trichalkon. The name ΑΡΓΕΙΟΣ does however occur on a later issue of approximately this module and dated to the 2nd century BC. However it is also possible that the coin may even belong to a later -common- issue of approximately this module (Series 19) dating to the 2nd or early 1st century BC. One of the moneyers of Series 19 bears the name ΑΡΤΕΜΗΣ in which case the name legend on the coin could read ΑΡΤ[Ε]Μ[Η]Σ.

³³¹ Note that this site has also yielded a hoard of great importance for the dating and classification of the earliest bronze Chian coinage of the Classical period (referred to in the introduction but not part of this study),

(Boardman, 1958-9, p. 301).³³² On the evidence of the pottery recovered from the site we may argue for a date for this particular issue of no later than the early 3rd century BC, something which agrees with the proposed date in this study.

Two other coins of Series 17 were found in the excavation of a site on Mount Aipos on Chios (Lambrinoudakis, *Chios: A Conference*, 1986, pp. 295-304).³³³ The excavator found evidence of habitation stretching from c 400 BC to the 3rd century AD, but according to his report, the 'late Classical/early Hellenistic' and 'early Roman' periods were '*better represented in the finds*' (Lambrinoudakis, *Chios: A Conference*, 1986, p. 299, f. 9). He dated the coins to the 1st century BC according to the reference of BMC; as a result of this he classified the coins as finds belonging to the 'early Roman' period. A date in the 3rd century BC, as proposed for the issues in this study, associates them with other finds made at the site and dating to the 'late Classical / early Hellenistic' period.³³⁴ The coins recovered at Mt. Aipos may have been brought there during an obscure slave revolt (which became known in history as the 'The revolt of Drimakos', see the discussion in the historical background, pp. 31-32) that is believed to have occurred at Chios sometime in the 3rd century BC. Ancient literary sources reveal that the rebels used Aipos as their base from where they launched raids against the city of Chios.³³⁵ The proposed date of these issues seems to add weight to this

³³² The excavator used Maurogordato's article as reference for the date of the coin and therefore considered a date of it 'as possible *Second century* [BC]'. This contrasts with the date of the latest pottery found at the site, since he records that no *distinctively* Hellenistic pottery was found. A date in the first half of the 3rd century BC for the coin is not far from the date of the latest archaeological finds made on this site.

³³³ Two coins are recorded, one bearing the name ΚΗΦΙΣΙΑ[ΗΣ] of Group E and the other one the name ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΑ[ΧΟΣ] of Group H.

³³⁴ I have not been able to study these coins which are in storage in the Department of Archaeology of the University of Athens, but they are illustrated by Lambrinoudakis in fig. 6 of his article. It is clear that the coins are only slightly worn and have not been countermarked (see below, the discussion on the chronological significance of the tripod countermark on coins of Series 17). These factors would indicate that the coins only saw limited circulation and may have been discarded at Aipos during the 3rd century BC.

³³⁵ For this little known episode in Chian history see the references in the historical background, pp. 31-32. Lambrinoudakis, *ibid*, considers that some of the houses at Aipos may have been constructed as habitats of runaway slaves participating in the revolt. He further explores this theory, in the light of archaeological finds at this site, in another article, Αρχαίες Εγκαταστάσεις στο Αίπος, ('Ancient instalments at Aipos'). Χιακὰ Χρονικά ΧΙ, (1979), pp. 5-20, in particular, pp. 19-20.

theory since it coincides with the century generally considered as the most likely when this revolt might have taken place.

As discussed above a coin of this series showing little sign of circulation was found in the excavation of a cistern in the Athenian Agora, with a closing date of its fill during the early 2nd century BC.³³⁶ This is the only known example of a coin of Series 17 recovered from an archaeological context outside Chios and provides a *terminus ante quem* for the issue of the series of no later than c. 200 BC, since this particular issue belongs to the last group (Group I).

8. Hoards of the trichalkon: All hoards of this series with a recorded provenance were found at Chios³³⁷ and consist almost entirely of coins of the trichalkon denomination. This would suggest that similar groups of these coins but of unknown provenances are likely to come from hoards originally found at Chios.³³⁸ The fact that none of these hoards seem to have included foreign coins indicates that these issues made up the bulk of coinage circulating on the island at the time and that foreign coins would have been rare on the island.³³⁹ As no dated foreign coins have been found in association with coins of Series 17 we lack this evidence in establishing an accurate date for issues of Series 17.

³³⁶ Cistern Fill, N 18:3; Kroll 1993, p. 270, n. 943, and note 58. See also p. 313, a list of coins recovered in the fill, all of which are dated before c 200 BC; the latest is 595d, a bronze of the Boetian League dating to the late 3rd century. See also D. B. Thompson, 'Three Centuries of Hellenistic Terracottas II C. The Satyr Cistern', *Hesperia* 31, (1962), pp. 244-262, p. 246, f. 10, where the cistern is dated between the early 3rd century and early 2nd century BC.

³³⁷ IGCH 1337-9, and the group of coins of Series 17 in the collection of the Koraes library in Chios, were certainly found on the island.

³³⁸ Such groups of coins of Series 17 belong today to the B. N., the Berlin Coin Cabinet, and are published by C. Lagos, 'Coin Hoards', p. 277, NC 156 (1996). Another group comprising 32 Chian coins from this series in the former collection of Subhy Pacha (*Collection des Medailles, Grecques Autonomes, de Subhy Pacha*, (Constantinople, 1874), pp. 159-161, nos. 2882-2914) may belong to a hoard since the remainder of the collection is poor in Chian coins.

³³⁹ During this period it would seem that foreign coinage was exchanged in the trading centres of Chios, (Emporio, Phana) restricting the amount of this coinage finding its way into Chios; see the chapter on the economy, pp. 655-7, where I discuss the evidence on this subject.

A published coin of the trichalkon of Series 17, acquired by the Athens Numismatic Museum in 1966, was found in the village of Pyrgi at Chios.³⁴⁰ The coin seems to have been a stray find from an undated context but this region of Chios has reputedly seen the discovery of a number of coin hoards, some of which would have been composed of coins of this series.³⁴¹ Though no major site is known in the area, the temple of Apollo at Phana is relatively close and this may hold an explanation for the presence of ancient coins at Pyrgi.

Pithyos, another Chian location, also seems to have yielded a large number of coins belonging to Series 17. This is where the large hoard of 1887 was discovered and which is discussed in the introduction to the coinage. A. Zolota states that most of the coins collected by her father G. Zolota (the bulk of which were coins of Series 17) were found in the region of Pithyos or within the village itself.³⁴² The three bronze coins of this series (signed by moneyers ΑΣΠΑΣΙΟΣ, ΛΑΜΠΡΟΣ and ΜΕΝΕΣΘΕΥΣ) that she donated to the Athens Numismatic Museum in 1909 were probably part of her father's collection, and almost certainly came originally from the same hoard or archaeological context since they are covered in a similar surface patina.³⁴³ This limited information on finds of hoards in different sites of the island shows the widespread distribution of this coinage outside the city and the high degree of monetization in the Chian countryside.

Undoubtedly the city of Chios would also have yielded in the past its fair share of hoards of this coinage but surprisingly none have so far been published.³⁴⁴

³⁴⁰ AD 22 (1967), 'Chronika', p. 11 (report of acquisitions made by the Athens Numismatic Museum in 1966, prepared by M. Oeconomidou), p. 11, no. 3, 6. The moneyer is recorded as ΙΚΕΣΙΟΣ.

³⁴¹ In the winter of 1994, I was shown in the town of Chios three badly corroded coins but identifiable as issues of Series 17 said to have been found together outside Pyrgi; no photographs or casts were taken of these coins, but the owner of these coins spoke of the frequent discovery of such coins in quantity in and around Pyrgi.

³⁴² A. Zolota, *Ιστορία της Χίου*, ed. A. Zolota-Sarou, Vol. II, (Athens, 1924), p. 193.

³⁴³ On these coins in Athens, see Svoronos, 1911, p. 69-70, KA' (donation of 4-1-1909).

³⁴⁴ See Lagos, 1996, p. 268, for a group of coins of Chios -possibly of this series- found during excavation in the city of Chios which were part of a hoard and await publication.

Of the published hoards, IGCH 1337 is known to have included 30 trichalkoi but no issues of smaller denominations.³⁴⁵ Hoard IGCH 1338 consisted of 36 coins, 35 trichalkoi and only one smaller denomination, a dichalkon.³⁴⁶ A possible hoard in the coin collection of the Koraes library at Chios seems to have included around 20 coins of the trichalkon and only a single coin from a smaller denomination, a dichalkon.³⁴⁷

9. Finds of the fractional denominations: In contrast to issues of the trichalkoi of Series 17, a number of the chalkous denomination have been found in sites outside Chios. Coins are known from the excavation of the Athenian Agora (Kroll, *Athens Agora XXVI*, p. 271, n. 944),³⁴⁸ various sites on the island of Rhodes³⁴⁹ and southwestern Asia Minor.³⁵⁰ None of these are known to originate from a dated archaeological context; their presence however on these foreign sites suggests that this small denomination was used extensively in transactions outside Chios. Since coins of earlier issues of this denomination have also been found in foreign sites it becomes clear that this Chian denomination was already used abroad prior to the striking of Series 17 (see the discussion in the chapter on the economy, pp. 651-2).

10. Epigraphic evidence: I have already discussed that letter forms in inscriptions provide us with evidence relating to the chronology of issues of Series 17. Further chronological

³⁴⁵ The hoard was a gift of Mr Kouloudes, a local of Chios, to the Athens Numismatic Museum and is published by J. Svoronos in *JIAN*, 1913, pp. 68-9 in section 34' with records of the latest acquisitions.

³⁴⁶ The hoard was found at Chios in 1917 and belongs today to the Athens Numismatic Museum. Note that two coins in this hoard belong to a much later period and are therefore either later additions to the hoard or a separate donation made by Kouloudes at the time he donated the coins to the museum. On the whole the latter seems likely as these two coins are also devoid of the patina covering the rest of the hoard.

³⁴⁷ Lagos, 1996, p. 277. This is also the case for IGCH 1338 found at Chios probably in 1933 and comprising approximately 30 coins. It belongs in the collection of the American Numismatic Society, NY, 1934. 999. 569. The denomination smaller than the trichalkon (probably a dichalkon) belongs to Series 18 dating a short time after Series 17 (see below).

³⁴⁸ The coin was not identified in the publication but certainly belongs the issue of ΣΚΥΜΝΟΣ.

³⁴⁹ Rhodes Archaeological Museum acc. no. 862 a coin signed by ΣΚΥΜΝΟΣ. Another coin of this museum from the same series and denomination was too worn to identify the moneyer's name.

³⁵⁰ Coins of this type are found in Museums in Asia Minor; see for example, *Coins in the Museum at Fethiye*, forthcoming publication by J. P. Casey, R. H. Ashton, O. Tek. Information kindly provided by J. P. Casey and R. H. Ashton.

evidence on these issues is derived from moneyers' names that are attested epigraphically. Most names recorded in Series 17 appear in Chian inscriptions, most of which belong to the 3rd century BC.³⁵¹

The engraved catalogues with names of members of the ΤΟΤΕΙΔΕΣ faction, dating to the early 3rd century BC and already included in the discussion of the epigraphic evidence of various earlier series,³⁵² include two names that are also found on issues of the first group of this series (Group A). These are ΙΚΕΣΙΟΣ and ΑΡΓΕΙΟΣ; the first name is relatively common at Chios during this period while the second one is rare and Dr Forrest has suggested that it may have been borne by members of a single leading family of the island.³⁵³

A body of inscriptions found at Delos and honouring foreign officials or ambassadors includes a few names of individuals appearing from their ethnic to be Chians. Two of these are namesakes of moneyers striking issues in the first two groups of Series 17. The first one is named ΗΡΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ and is honoured in an inscription dating to the period 301-279 BC. The name is rare for a Chian and he may be identified with the namesake moneyer striking issues in Group A with a proposed date c. 270 BC.³⁵⁴ The date of this issue is close to that proposed for the inscription.

Another Delian inscription dating to the first half of the 3rd century BC honours a Chian, ΠΟΛΙΑΝΘΟΣ. His name also appears in a Chian inscription dating to the early 3rd century

³⁵¹ Here I discuss only the names that are found exclusively on bronze issues and contemporary inscriptions. In the relevant section of the chapter on drachms of the Attic standard, Series II, (pp. 110-3), I discuss all known cases of moneyers' names appearing on drachms in common with issues of Series 17 and which are attested epigraphically.

³⁵² Series 15, pp. 59-62; Series 16, pp. 96-97; Attic Drachm Series II, p. 110.

³⁵³ G. Forrest, 'A lost Peisistratid Name', JHS 101, (1981), 'Notes', p. 134; he argues that the name belongs to a Chian family that was probably a branch of the family of the Athenian tyrant Peisistratos. The frequent appearance of this name on coin issues every second or third generation (see the discussion in the chapter on the typology) seems to show that this is a plausible theory.

³⁵⁴ The issue is no. 3 of Group A. For the inscription see, IG XI. 4, 541, with the proposed date of c 301-279 BC based on the tenure of the eponymous magistrate at Delos when the honours were conferred upon ΗΡΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ. The name only appears in another Chian inscription dating to the end of the 3rd century BC and disappears thereafter from Chios. Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 213, no. 129.

BC and an issue of Group B, with a proposed date of shortly before the mid 3rd century BC.³⁵⁵ With the exception of Chios, there is no other known occurrence of this name anywhere in the Greco-Roman world.³⁵⁶ It is worth noting that the coin issue and both these inscriptions are (independently) dated to the first half of the 3rd century BC and that the name disappears thereafter even from Chios. Since the name appears at Chios in inscriptions and an issue over a limited period -coinciding with the first half of the 3rd century BC- it is likely that it may represent the same individual. As I discuss in the chapter on the historical background (p. 24) to Chios, ΠΟΛΙΑΝΘΟΣ may have been a famous politician since the honours bestowed upon him at Delos were quite exceptional. Interestingly, as I have showed, the sphinx appearing in the heading of this inscription is identical to that appearing on issues bearing this name. This highly suggests that ΠΟΛΙΑΝΘΟΣ was honoured at Delos after he had acted as moneyer at Chios.³⁵⁷

Of considerable numismatic interest is the Chian inscription which includes the above name in a catalogue alongside other local names (Stephanou, 1963, p. 152; Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 381, no. 135).³⁵⁸ Among these names we find that of ΦΟΙΝΙΞ which also occurs on an issue of Group B of Series 17; this is the group where we find issues bearing the

³⁵⁵ Issue no. 2 of Group B. The Delian inscription is published in IG XI. 4, 599, 2, and is dated to the first half of the 3rd century BC based on the eponymous magistrate at Delos at the time. For this individual see Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 381, no. 137. The Chian inscription including this name is discussed in detail below.

³⁵⁶ The uniqueness of the name should be attributed to its wrong grammatical form; correctly the name is spelt ΠΟΛΙΑΝΘΗΣ, which happens to be quite common during the Hellenistic period. Incidentally this was how the name of this Chian moneyer was reconstructed in early numismatic works and in W. Pape & G. E. Benseler, *Worterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, Auflage (Brunswick, 1875), prior to Maurogordato publishing a coin in the B. N. clearly showing the name legend ending with Ο(Σ); on this topic see his discussion, 1916, p. 333. A second coin where the ending in ΟΣ is clearly visible is included in this study (see the coin catalogue). The two volumes of the British Academy, *Lexicon of Greek names*, do not include a single reference to this name outside Chios, between the Archaic and late Roman period.

³⁵⁷ This observation may help us to consider a more accurate date for the Delian inscription than hitherto suggested. The date proposed in this study for issues signed by ΠΟΛΙΑΝΘΟΣ is c 260 BC, in which case the inscription at Delos is likely to date then, or a brief time later. I would therefore suggest a possible date for this inscription around the middle of the 3rd century BC, or a short time later, in place of the first half of the century proposed in the publication of this inscription.

³⁵⁸ Stephanou dates this inscription in general to the 3rd century BC, while Sarikakis has a more accurate date in the turn of the 4th to 3rd century BC. The letter forms of the inscription are identical to those of known Chian inscriptions dating in the early 3rd century BC and I think that this is the most likely date.

name of ΠΟΛΙΑΝΘΟΣ. ΠΟΛΙΑΝΘΟΣ and ΦΟΙΝΙΞ who are recorded together in the same inscription and may also have struck coinage at the same time. As other rare names in this inscription are also identical with those appearing in issues of earlier series it is likely that this may have been a record of successive moneyers or officials who were in charge of the mint during the first half of the 3rd century BC.³⁵⁹

In the historical background, pp. 29-30, I discuss the existence of two inscriptions with subscriptions of private Chian citizens for the rebuilding of the city walls, which most scholars date at the time of the siege of Chios by Philip V (202/1 BC). Over 50 individuals are recorded herewith contributing sums of money in drachms, on behalf of themselves and members of their families. The recorded sums range between 30 and 1000 drachms, with the majority of sums in the scale of 50 to 200 drachms. Even the smallest amount recorded, that of 30 drachms, would still have represented for most people at the time a considerable amount of money that only relatively wealthy individuals could afford to dispense with. In view of this fact the inscriptions under consideration may also be seen as records of members of the upper class in Chios at the end of the 3rd century BC. Undoubtedly moneyers, irrespective of whether they were magistrates or private citizens paying for the minting expenses, were drawn from this class and we would expect to find some names in common with the inscriptions and the issues.³⁶⁰ However with the exception of the common ΙΚΕΣΙΟΣ, none of the names recorded in the inscriptions appear in any of the issues of Series 17.

³⁵⁹ The names appearing in common in the inscription and issues are discussed in the relevant sections of the previous coin series; see the epigraphic evidence for bronzes of Series 15, Attic drachms of Series II, bronzes of Series 16. The importance of this inscription as likely evidence on the existence during the Hellenistic period of an official in charge of the coinage is discussed in the chapter on the typology (p. 622), where I consider the authority in charge of coinage at Chios.

³⁶⁰ There are many examples from other Greek cities where names appear in common on local coin issues and contemporary inscriptions with catalogues of names of subscribers. For example, Barron, 1966, pp. 137-8, who links certain magistrates of Samos recorded in honourific decrees of the late 4th century with namesake moneyers signing local contemporary coinage. Kinns, 1980, discusses on several occasions the appearance of the same names on coins and contemporary inscriptions of Erythrae; see also Idem, 1986, p. 242, a number of identical names appearing on a coin series of Miletus and a long catalogue of subscribers from this city.

The patronymics of the individuals are also recorded and it is among these that we come across names that are identical to those appearing on issues of this series. The patronymics represent individuals that were a generation older than those making the contributions and were therefore active between a quarter and half century before the time the inscriptions were commissioned.³⁶¹ In this light it seems that the same set of inscriptions could also provide us with a record of members of the Chian upper class from an earlier generation, which was in its prime around the middle of the 3rd century BC. These individuals would have probably lived during the period when I propose that issues of Series 17 were struck (c 270-220 BC).

Confirmation of this seems to be found while comparing patronymic names appearing in these inscriptions with those of moneyers on issues of Series 17. 10 of the patronymics are identical to names of moneyers signing issues of Series 17; among these we find all three names of moneyers recorded in issues of the final group (Group I) and a few from earlier groups (see **Table IV**).

Common sense dictates that not all of the names appearing in these inscriptions as patronymics and on issues of Series 17, could possibly represent the same individuals. In particular names like ΙΚΕΣΙΟΣ or ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ are relatively common at the time at Chios. However we also find other names appearing in common in the inscriptions and coin legends that are rare or scarce (e.g. ΑΡΓΕΙΟΣ, ΚΑΥΚΑΣΙΩΝ, ΣΩΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ, ΘΕΡΣΗΣ, ΦΟΙΝΙΞ, ΣΚΥΜΝΟΣ, ΜΕΝΕΣΘΕΥΣ). It is therefore reasonable to assume that out of this number it is very likely that at least *one* of these individuals may be identified with a namesake moneyer in charge of an

³⁶¹ This is a reasonable suggestion in view of the fact that nearly all of the subscribers would have been the heads of households and many of the them old men themselves. The age of the individuals is not recorded but there is indication that all the fathers with names identical to moneyers of Series 17 were dead by the time of the commissioning of the inscriptions. Only in two cases, lines 13 and 26 of the 1st inscription, we have two different individuals recording their contribution also on behalf of their fathers, which demonstrates the fact that where no fathers were included in the contributions these were probably no longer living.

issue of Series 17. This seems to be further confirmation of the fact that issues of Series 17 were struck before the end of the 3rd century BC.³⁶²

Table IV			
Father	Son	epigraphic reference	issue group
ΑΡΓΕΙΟΣ	ΛΥΚΟΥΡΓΟΣ	1st inscr., Col II, line 21	Group A
[ΘΕ]ΡΣΗΣ	ΚΑΛΛΙΑΣ	1st inscr., Col. II, line 30	Group A
ΙΚΕΣΙΟΣ	ΦΗΣΙΝΟΣ	2nd inscr., line 40	Group A
ΙΚ[Ε]ΣΙΟΣ	ΑΓΓΕΛΙΠ[Π]ΟΣ	2nd inscr., line 64	Group A
ΦΟΙΝΙΞ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ	ΛΑΜΠΡΑΓΟΡΑΣ ...ΚΡΑΤΗΣ ...ΩΝ	1st inscr., Col. II, line 28 1st inscr., Col. II, line 38 1st inscr., Col. II, line 52	Group B Group C Group C
ΣΚΥΜΝΟΣ	ΑΡΙΣΤΟΔΗΜΟΣ	2nd inscr., line 62	17.III, D
[Σ]Ω[ΣΤΡ]ΑΤΟΣ	[ΕΥΑ]ΔΚΙΔΗΣ	2nd inscr., line 22	Group I
ΜΕΝΕΣΘΕΥΣ	[Μ]ΕΝΕΔΗΜΟΣ	1st inscr., Col. I, line 35	Group I
ΚΑΥΚΑΣΙΩΝ	ΑΡΙΣΤΗΣ	1st inscr., Col. I, line 20	Group I

In a later inscription dating in general to the 2nd century BC a father and a son are recorded with the same name, ΕΡΜΩΝΑΞ.³⁶³ This suggests that the name probably belonged to a single family passing from father to son. Though it is unlikely that any of the two could be identified with the namesake moneyer in charge of the issues of Series 17 (dichalkon, chalkous, and hemichalkous), it is possible on this evidence that the moneyer bearing this name and who was in charge of an issue of Series 14, may have been the father or grandfather of the namesake moneyer of Series 17 striking a few decades later.

One of the last Chian representatives to the Council of Delphic Amphictiony (185/4 BC) was ΣΚΥΜΝΟΣ son of ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ (I. G. Sylloge, 3, 584, 197; Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 408, no. 52). The name is rare since it is only found twice before in Chian

³⁶² This point can be taken further for the final issue of the series. All three names of moneyers responsible for the issues in Group I also appear as patronymics in the ‘wall repairing inscriptions’. None of the names are common at Chios (see in particular the very unusual name of ΚΑΥΚΑΣΙΩΝ), and are not found in later inscriptions, which would mean that at least one could possibly be identified as moneyer and father of a donor. In such a (likely) case the inscription reveals that by c 201 BC the final issue of Series 17 had already been struck.

³⁶³ First published by Zolotas, 1908, p. 212, no. 10, lines 11-12; L. Robert, BCH 57, 1933, p. 518; for the individuals see Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 163, no. 174, (father), pp. 163-4, no. 175, (son).

inscriptions, the first one dating to the 5th century BC while the second one possibly of the 3rd century BC, and disappears thereafter from the local inscriptions.³⁶⁴ This was also the name of a famous Chian geographer who lived during the middle Hellenistic period.³⁶⁵ Since both the geographer and the ambassador at Delphi also shared the same (rare) patronymic, it is thought that these would have been the same individual (P. Amandry, 1986, pp. 205-32, p. 223, f. 49; Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 408, no. 52). As we saw, a chalkous dating in this study during the late 3rd century BC also bears the name of ΣΚΥΜΝΟΣ, showing that the moneyer, geographer and ambassador of this name would have lived during same period. It is therefore possible that we may be dealing in these cases with a single individual, instead of two namesakes.³⁶⁶ If this is true, then ΣΚΥΜΝΟΣ is likely to have become ambassador to Delphi a few years after acting as moneyer at Chios (since his issue dates in the late 3rd century BC and he was at Delphi during the early 2nd century BC). This as we have seen is very likely to have happened in the case of ΠΟΛΙΑΝΘΟΣ, who was the Chian representative at Delos after he had acted as moneyer at Chios.

Names of moneyers striking issues in Series 17 are also inscribed on stamps appearing on the handles of Chian wine jars and dating during the Hellenistic period. Of these pottery stamps only the one with the name ΙΚΕΣΙΟΣ can be dated with some precision between the middle and the third quarter of the 3rd century BC.³⁶⁷ This date agrees well with the general

³⁶⁴ For the inscription of the Classical period bearing this name see Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 408, no. 49; the later inscription was published in Zolotas, 1908, p. 204, no. 7. The name also appears in a silver issue of the 4th century BC, Maurogordato, 1915, p. 410, no. 52.

³⁶⁵ A well travelled individual -probably a trader- Skymnos composed of a book entitled *Perihgisis* ('travels') describing places he visited; his work was popular during the late Hellenistic and early Roman periods but has not survived. For this individual see Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 408, no. 52, quoting all earlier bibliography.

³⁶⁶ Maurogordato, 1917, 234, identified him with another moneyer of the same name who struck a drachm issue on the cistophoric standard, see p. 371. However this particular issue belongs to much later period (early 1st century AD) precluding the identification of its moneyer with the geographer.

³⁶⁷ V. R. Grace, *Small Objects from the Pnyx: II, Hesperia*, Supplement X, (Princeton, 1956), p. 166, no. 198; Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 242, no. 22. Chian lagynoi handles bearing stamps with this name and found in the excavations at Pergamum in levels of the 3rd century BC, see J. Burow, 'Die ubrigen stempel aus

period of issue of Series 17 as proposed in this study and is close to the proposed date for issues bearing this name belonging to Group A (c 270-260 BC). Furthermore the letter forms appearing on the amphora stamp and in the legend of the issue signed by this moneyer are identical, making more likely the association between the pottery stamp and the issue. Unfortunately ΙΚΕΣΙΟΣ is a common Chian name for the Hellenistic period,³⁶⁸ and it is not certain if the person named on the pottery and the moneyer is the same individual or contemporary namesakes; in any case both this issue and the pottery are likely to have been produced during the same period.

11. Circulation after the cessation of the issues: Shortly after the final issues of Group I of this series were struck, a large number of trichalkoi seem to have been withdrawn from circulation and reissued again bearing one or two countermarks of a tripod. Approximately one in every eight known coins of Series 17 bears a countermark, suggesting that the coins may have circulated for a few more decades after the countermarking and continued playing an important role within the monetary system at Chios during the first half of the 2nd century BC.

Evidence on the use of these coins in a late 3rd century and early 2nd century BC context comes also from an unlikely quarter, namely stamped Chian amphorae and lagynoi handles found abroad. Among the thousands of pottery fragments recovered in the foundation fillings of a building known as the 'Middle Stoa', and constructed in 183 BC,³⁶⁹ were three Chian lagynoi handles with stamps depicting sphinxes identical to the type present on issues

Pergamon', in *Die Hellenistischen amphorenstempel aus Pergamon*, Deutsches Institut Publication, (Berlin & New York, 1998), p. 121, nos. 567-70, taf. 36.

³⁶⁸ Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, lists 11 individuals of this name known from inscriptions to have been living during the 3rd century BC.

³⁶⁹ V. R. Grace, 'The Middle Stoa dated by amphora stamps', *Hesperia* 55, (1985), pp. 1-27. The latest pottery and coins in the construction filling of the building are dated before c. 182 BC

of Groups C and H of Series 17.³⁷⁰ All three stamps are inscribed with the name ΙΠΠΟΝΙΚΟΣ] - possibly the name of the potter- and were therefore produced during the same period. A study of these stamps suggests that they were copied from coins or that even the stamps were made from the coins after the name of the individual was inscribed on them.³⁷¹ The second suggestion seems more likely since another stamp with this name depicts a different sphinx which is identical to a type appearing in drachms of the early 2nd century BC (see pp. 223-7). It seems that ΙΠΠΟΝΙΚΟΣ] produced his stamps by using types on coins that were circulating at the time, thus avoiding the cost of producing new stamps. The fact that this ingenious method was not repeated by other potters may suggest that eventually it might have been forbidden.³⁷² In any case these amphora stamps testify to the circulation of coins of Series 17 within a context of the early 2nd century BC.

The excavations at Delos seem to have produced some negative evidence on the question of the continued circulation of the series. Not a single coin from Series 17 was found there, and the coinage may no longer have been circulating by c 167 BC, when Delos was established as the only free trading port in the Eastern Mediterranean. The fact that this most common of all Chian bronze coinage is absent from Delos, while more than 20 specimens of

³⁷⁰ The pottery stamps are unpublished and have Agora Inventory nos. SS 11481, SS 1683 MSBF, SS 12619. I would like to acknowledge Dr Koehler of the American School at Athens for revealing their existence to me and giving me permission to include them in my thesis. Burow, 1998, p. 126, also refers to these stamps.

³⁷¹ Pottery stamps are included in Pl. VII, fig A (SS 11481) and Pl. XI, fig. A (SS 1683). A comparison of the type on the first stamp with the obverse of coins of Group C and the second stamp with the obverse of coins of Group H (in particular fig. 18) reveals that coins and pottery stamps share an almost identical sphinx. The dimensions of the sphinxes of the stamps match exactly those of coin types suggesting that these may have been produced from coins. The position of the sphinx impressions precludes the possibility that the potter made use of original coins as stamps, but rather that he produced stamps out of coins.

³⁷² I. K. Whitbread, *Greek Transport Amphorae, a Petrological and Archaeological study*, British School at Athens Publication, (1995), p. 135, records that Chian amphorae of the first quarter of the 5th century BC are sometimes stamped with a sphinx symbol -accompanied by an amphora and bunch of grapes. In contrast to the stamps of ΙΠΠΟΝΙΚΟΣ these earlier ones are not inscribed with the name of an individual and are likely to have been official state devices. In any case they were not produced from coins. Two other Chian stamps on amphorae handles bear a sphinx and the name of an individual, ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝΙ[ΟΣ]. This sphinx shares some general similarities with sphinx types appearing on issues dating from the late 3rd and early 2nd centuries BC, though they are not stylistically identical and the stamps were not produced from coins, see Loutrari, 1997, pp. 85-86. The stamped handles with ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝΙ[ΟΣ] belong to the Archaeological Museum of Chios, inv. nos. 4049-50.

later series are recorded as stray finds there, strongly indicates it would no longer have been circulating during the period when Delos was the trading centre of the Hellenistic world.³⁷³

12. Countermarks: Issues of Series 17 seem to have been officially countermarked by the authorities at Chios on two different occasions. The first countermarking coincides with the early years of the series, while the second one appears to have been applied after issues had ceased to be struck. Two coins are known bearing the earlier countermark, both belonging to issues of Group A. The first coin (ill. Pl. V, fig. 34) shows a small countermark with the legend ΗΡΟΣΤ-ΙΟΥ in two lines (SNG Copenhagen, no. 1575).³⁷⁴ A different countermark appearing on the second coin ((IGCH 1337, no. 8; illustrated in this study in Pl. IV, fig. 10) bears a legend reading ΑΡΓΕ-ΙΟΥ. As with the previous countermark the legend is inscribed in two lines. The countermarks have a similar appearance and both are stamped on the sphinx on exactly the same position suggesting that they may have been applied at the same time. The legends on the countermarks seem to belong to names of moneyers of Group A, as the first one is reconstructed ΗΡΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ and the second one clearly reads ΑΡΓΕΙΟΥ. The fact that the countermarks were applied on issues that belonged to a moneyer different from the one named in the countermark -the ΗΡΟΣΤ-ΙΟΥ countermark is found on a coin of ΘΕΡΣΗΣ while the ΑΡΓΕ-ΙΟΥ countermark on a coin of ΗΡΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ- seems to indicate that these were the personal countermarks of moneyers, possibly checking coins issued by other moneyers within the same group.³⁷⁵

³⁷³ This was first observed by Maurogordato, 1916, p. 303 & p. 334, and still applies today more than eighty years after his publication. This observation is correct but at the same time it contradicts his own proposed chronology for Series 17, since he suggests (p. 303, 34) that the coins would no longer have been circulating by 167/6 BC, while in pp. 299-300, he has placed chronologically the beginning of these issues in c 190 BC and believes that they were struck over a period of five decades (p. 331). Furthermore, in p. 354 he lists these issues in his section with proposed period of issue c 190-133 BC.

³⁷⁴ The legend featured in this countermark has also been included in the description of the coin in this publication.

³⁷⁵ This is further suggested by the use of the genitive for the names in the countermarks, signalling that the countermarks belonged personally to the named individuals. For a similar countermark at Teos, see Kinns, 1980,

A fairly large number of known coins of Series 17 carry a tripod symbol as a countermark. As the use of this countermark is widespread and involves coins from different groups it must have been applied by the mint. Maurogordato recorded the number of different coins that carried it and included it to the total number of coinage that he examined. He concluded that fewer coins from issues that he perceived to be early were countermarked, in contrast to later issues. Accordingly he suggested that the number of countermarked coins may be used as an indication of the relative issue sequence for the series (1917, pp. 336-7). This is not plausible since issues from the same group -clearly contemporary- show a marked difference in the percentages of recorded countermarked and non countermarked coinage.³⁷⁶ It is obvious that there is no chronological link between the application of the countermark and individual different groups since there is no great difference of countermarked coins for the groups. The percentage of countermarked coins from the final group is not higher than that of other groups. No real importance should be attached to the fact that only two coins of $\Lambda\epsilon\Omega\text{ME}\Delta\Omega\text{N}$ are countermarked.³⁷⁷

Since the countermark appears on coins issued in Group I it is obvious that it would have been applied after the cessation of the striking of issues. This is also inferred from the study of hoard IGCH 1338, which included coins from all groups -including the last one- only one of which was countermarked. We would have expected to find a larger number of coins from the later issues with the countermark but as we saw this is not the case. It may be attributed to the fact that the different issues were not struck far apart in time and also that

where a coin from this mint has been countermarked with the name legend of a local magistrate who also signed a different issue from the same group.

³⁷⁶ See the number of countermarked coins for each issue in the coin catalogue. Even considering Maurogordato's own evidence there does not seem to be a realistic basis to his claim.

³⁷⁷ Until recently only one coin published by Maurogordato was known, but Dr Kinns recently acquired one for his own collection and is also included in this study. Maurogordato, 1916, p. 337, saw this as evidence that $\Lambda\epsilon\Omega\text{ME}\Delta\Omega\text{N}$ was the earliest moneyer to strike coinage in the series. This is not the case as shown in my study; even if it were true, the fact that this moneyer struck issues in three different groups (see discussion above) means that most of his coins would have been struck later than that of other moneyers.

earlier issues seem to have included a larger percentage of coins than later ones (see above, the discussion of the die studies, pp. 131-3). Furthermore, the application of the countermark suggests that issues of Group I were not struck a long time later than earlier groups. If this were the case than we would expect to find more coins of Group I bearing the countermark compared to other groups.

It is clear that the countermarked coinage represents an attempt by Chios to recirculate money without having to incur the financial burden of issuing new coinage. At the same time the state would have taken a second profit on the coinage since a fee would have been charged for each countermarked coin.³⁷⁸

Bronze coinage appears to have been frequently countermarked in Ionia during the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC,³⁷⁹ and in some cases cities also countermarked coins from more than one series. Erythrae in particular seems to have adopted on a permanent basis, between the late 4th century BC and the early 2nd century BC, the countermarking of its bronze coinage. This is much earlier and over a longer period than the countermarking at Chios. It would seem that Chios may have continued relying for most of the 3rd century BC on newly minted bronze coinage and therefore it was deemed unnecessary to countermark the coinage.

If countermarking is the result of a crisis, as has been suggested,³⁸⁰ then this numismatic evidence indicates that Chios may have been better off compared to other cities in Ionia during most of the 3rd century BC. The large scale countermarking seems to have been

³⁷⁸ On the state profiting during the Hellenistic period by countermarking its own bronze currency, see Morkholm, 1991, p. 19.

³⁷⁹ G. Milne, 'Countermarked coins of Asia Minor', NC 13 (1913), pp. 389-398, p. 395, argues for a date of c 190 BC for the countermarking of the bronze series of Kyme, Clazomeneae, and Erythrae.

³⁸⁰ G. Le Rider, 'Contremarques et surfrappes dans l'Antiquité Grecque', pp. 37-45, p. 39 in *Numismatique antique, problèmes et méthodes*, eds. J. M. Deatrer, Ph. Gauthier and T. Hackens, (Nancy-Louvain, 1975); Kinns, 1980, p. 100, 'the idea that countermarks imply some special crisis is an attractive one' and p. 102 where he attributes a countermarking at Erythrae to a crisis.

applied in the late 3rd century BC and an event that possibly may be linked with this monetary event is the siege of the city of Chios by Philip V in 202/1 BC.

An intriguing feature of the second countermarking is the countermark itself, the tripod. This was not one of the familiar, traditional, symbols of the island and Apollo, the god associated with the tripod, was not the primary deity at Chios, a position always held by Dionysos. This fact is frequently quoted in ancient sources and the Chians themselves always demonstrated it in their choice of their civic emblems, coin types and festivals (see the discussion in chapter on typology). Apollo might have been the principal god associated with numerous Greek cities but Chios was not among them. We must note here that other city mints countermarking their bronze coinage used types linked to their emblems.³⁸¹ It is therefore likely that the choice of the tripod countermark was influenced by the political realities or aspirations of the times and may be connected to Chian participation in the council of the Delphic Amphictiony under the Aetolian League during the second half of the 3rd and early 2nd centuries BC. The acceptance of Chios in this highly prestigious political organization must have boosted Chian moral and elevated its position, at least in theory, to that of an important political power in Greece at the time. The tripod of the Chian countermark may therefore be seen as a reference to Delphi, not just Apollo, and its presence on the coinage could be explained in the light of the role played by the island within the Delphic Amphictiony. The date of the countermarking coincides with a period -late 3rd century BC- when Chios was active in international diplomatic initiatives emanating from its position in the amphictiony.³⁸²

³⁸¹ Note that often the types of the countermarks were later used as main types on new coin series. Chios however never struck coins bearing a tripod type.

³⁸² For the role of Chios in the Delphic Amphictiony, especially during the last quarter of the 3rd century BC, see the discussion in the historical background, pp. 26-28.

13. Series 17 as evidence on the history and economy of Chios:

No important coinage was in the past attributed to Chios of the 3rd century BC, a fact often associated with the lack of references to the island in ancient literary sources within the context of the century.³⁸³ This in its turn led to the belief that the island remained under foreign occupation throughout this period and that it was too poor to furnish its own coinage. However as I discuss in the chapter on the economy (pp. 627-643), this claim cannot stand any longer for it is refuted by a variety of archaeological, epigraphic, and even papyrological discoveries that have accumulated over the past few decades. The study of this body of material evidence reveals a startlingly different picture to the one drawn up in the past for Chios of the 3rd century BC. Chios was trading internationally, was prosperous, and almost certainly would have been independent.

The evidence presented and discussed in the historical background, pp. 23-28, shows that Chios possessed both the financial resources and the authority to strike its own coinage. It is therefore reasonable to assume that it would have struck coinage with civic types alongside Alexander type precious metal coinage.³⁸⁴ Bauslaugh (1979, p. 21) believes that the issue of the Alexander type coinage by Chios at the time was seen as a reflection of political freedom; it must be pointed out that the types of this coinage were strictly neutral and only the small mint symbols, hardly noticeable to the ordinary people using them, made reference to the issuing city. However the bronze issues of Chios of the series under consideration -and drachms of Attic weight, Series II, struck together with Series 17- always carry the ethnic legend and civic emblems of the city making a clear declaration of the city's sovereignty.

³⁸³ *'But having progressed so far we then find that all written records cease. Chios disappears from history for the best part of a century (note: the 3rd century BC). It may be this very silence on the part of historians that has persuaded numismatists to refuse any noteworthy output to the Chian mint during the third century..'*

Maurogordato, 1916, p. 282

³⁸⁴ Note that BMC and Maurogordato considered that Chios struck its Alexander type coinage only after c. 190 BC. This played a major part in their proposed dating of the civic type coinages after c 190 BC. On this topic see also the discussion of Chian drachms on the 'reduced Attic' weight,

SERIES 17 c 270-20

Type 17.I [M. 62a and 62b]

19.00-1500 mm. 3.8g (200)

Trichalkon

Due to the large number of coins recorded in the following catalogue, their legends have not been included, with the exception of some unusual and significant legends,. Many coins from Group A, and a few from other groups, are overstruck on earlier issues which is noted in the catalogue.

GROUP A

Obv: sphinx seated to the r., symbol ear of grain in front.

Rev: amphora in the centre, name of moneyer in field to the r., ethnic legend XIOΣ in field to the l.:
symbol bunch of grapes in a break in the ethnic legend.

Moneyer: APΓEIOΣ

no. of recorded coins cmked with tripod symbol: **4**

London

B.M.:

no 58: 3.71g, 1

no 59: 3.73g, 11

no 903: 3.37g, 12

Oxford

A. M.:

M. 1924: 3.71g, 12

Glasgow

G. U.:

H. c., Chios, no 11: 3.59g, 12, overstr. on issue of Series 14

H. c., Chios, no 12: 5.05g, 12, cmk. tripod

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:

no 1563, R. no 13: 3.69g, 12

no 1564: 3.85g, 12, overstr. on issue of Series 14.

Athens

N.M:

1899-1900, no AH: 2.89g, 12, overstr. on issue of Series 14 and cmk. tripod

1911-12, no IH: 3.46g, 12, overstr. on issue of Series 14

IGCH 1337[1910 no ΔΔ]

no 1: 5.77g, 1. **Pl. IV, fig. 1**

no 2: 3.27g, 1. **fig. 2**

IGCH 1338[1917 no Δ]

no 31: 3.10g, 1

E. c:

3.25g, 12

Chios

K. L.:

no. 10: no weight recorded., 12. **fig 3**

Paris

B. N:

no 3052; 3.88g, 12

no 3052a; 4.23g, 12, overstr. on issue of Series 15

no 3053; 4.35g, 12, tripod cmk

Dup. sec.:

ST; 3.60g, 12

ST; 3.43g, 12, tripod cmk.

ST; 3.00g, 12

ST; 3.54g, 12

ST; 3.00g, 12, overstr. on issue of Series 14. **fig. 4**

ST; 3.61g, 12

ST; 4.39g, 12

Vienna

K.M:

no 17928; 3.87g, 12

Munich

M. K.

no 15527; 3.12g, 12

T. U.

n. 3258; 4.49g, 12

Berlin

M. K.

Wol. B; 4.48g, 12

P.O. 1875 B; 3.24g, 12, overstr. on issue of Series 14

F. 1873 B; 3.23g, 2, overstr. on issue of Series 14

Schulten Munz handlung, auct. Mar. 1990

ex. lot no. 360; weight and die axis not recorded.

Moneyer: ΗΓΕΜΩΝ

no. of recorded coins cmked with tripod symbol: **4**

London

B.M:

no acc. number; 3.46g, 12

no 61; 4.01g, 11

Oxford

A. M.:

Milne 1924; 4.05g, 1, tripod cmk.

Milne 1944: ΧΓΕΜΩΝ; 4.06g, 1. **fig. 5**

Glasgow

G. U.

H. c., Chios, no 13; 4.40g, 12. **fig. 6**

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:

no 1570, F. 231; 4.46g, 12

no 1571, R. 22; 3.70g, 12, two tripod cmks, one on obv. and other on rev.

no 1572, R. 20; 2.96g, 12, overstr. on issue of Series 16

Athens

N.M.: Hoard 1Q. fig 11

IGCH 1337:

no 6: 2.43g, 12. **fig. 7**

no 7: 3.23g, 12

IGCH 1338:

no 20: 4.23g, 12

no 21: 3.60g, 11

E. c.:

4.02g, 12, two tripod cmks. one on obv. and other on rev.

A. c.:

weight not recorded, 11

Larisa

T. c.:

weight not recorded, 12

Istanbul

A. M.:

no. 6902; 3.29g, 1. **fig. 8**

Paris

B. N.:

no 3069; 3.47g, 12

no 3070; 2.81g, 12, tripod cmk

Dup. sec.:

4.34g, 12

ST: 3.30g, 12. **fig. 9**

ST: 3.45g, 12

SI: 3.57g, 6

Vienna

K. M.:

no 34782; 3.63g, 12

Berlin

M. K.: 64.

F. 1873; 4.07g, 12

L. 1906 : 4.16g, 1

P.O. 1875; 3.02g, 12

Otago

O. M.:

no. 846; 4.40g, 12

Moneyer: ΗΡΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ

no. of recorded coins cmked with tripod symbol: **6**

London

B.M.:

no 62; 3.99g, 12

no 902; 2.86g, 12

K. c.:

no 617; 4.08g, 12

no 1256; 3.67g, 12, overstr. on issue of Series 14

Athens

N. M.:

IGCH 1337:

no 8; 3.47g, 1, countermark with legend ΑΡΓΕ....-ΙΟΥ in two lines on the sphinx's body. **fig. 10**

IGCH 1338:

no 22; 2.84g, 6, overstr. on issue of Series 14

no 23; 4.14g, 12

C. b. c:

no. 926M; 2.69g, 12

Cambridge

F.M.:

L. c.: 4.03g, 12. **fig. 11**

M. c.: 2.90g, 1

Oxford

A. M.:

M. 1924; 3.96g, 1

C. C.: 3.41g, 12, tripod cmk.

Glasgow

G. U.:

H. c., Chios no 14; 3.95g, 12. **fig. 12**

Amsterdam

A. W. A :

no 86; 3.97g, die axis not recorded, tripod cmk.

no 87; 3.88g, die axis not recorded, tripod cmk

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:

no 1573, R. 23; 4.97g, 12. **fig. 13**

Chios

K. L.:

no. 29; weight not recorded, 12

Paris

no 3071; 3.64g, 12, overstr. on issue of Series 16. **fig. 14**

no 3072; 3.16g, 11, overstr. on issue of Series 14. **Pl. V, fig. 15**

no 3073; 3.76g, 12, tripod cmk

no 3074; 3.20g, 12, tripod cmk

no 3075; 3.34g, 12, tripod cmk

G. c.: 12

Dup. sec.:

SF; 3.31g, 12

SF; 2.01g, 12

SF; 4.44g, 12.

2.81g, 12

3.43g, 12

Vienna

K. M.:

no 17934; 3.47g, 12

Munich

T. U.:
n. 3260; 4.31, 12
n 3261; 3.65, 12

Berlin

M.K.:
V. R. : 4.43g, 12
L. 1906; 3.13g, 1. **fig. 16**
I. B. 1926; 3.44g, 12
F. 1873; 2.88g, 12. **fig. 17**
Cassel 1925; 3.02g, 12, overstr. on issue of Series 16. **fig. 18**
L. 1906; 4.40g, 6

C. N. R. 1994, vol. XIX, no. 3
no. 238; 3.39g, die axis not recorded.

Moneyer: ΘΕΡΣΗΞ

no. of recorded coins cmked with tripod symbol: **4**

London fig. 19

B. M.:
no 986; 3.32g, 1, overstr. on issue of Series 14
no 63; 3.56g, 12
no 64; 4.14g, 12. **fig. 19**
no 65; 3.34g, 12

K. c.:
no 750; 4.54g, 12

Cambridge

F. M.:
L. c.; 3.43g, 11

Oxford

A. M.
G.; 3.56g, 12
M.; 3.55g, 1, tripod cmk
4.02g, 12, overstr. on issue of Series 14.
C. C.; 4.24g, 12, tripod cmk

Glasgow

G. U.:
H. c. Chios no 15; 3.04g, 12

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:
no 1574, R. 24; 3.40g, 12
no 1575, L. : 3.60g, 12, countermark with legend ΗΡΟΣΤ-ΙΟΥ in two lines on the sphinx. **fig. 20**
no 1576, R. 25; 4.06g, 12 tripod cmk

Athens

N. M.:
K. b. no 8; 2.88g, 12, overstr. on issue of Series 14
IGCH 1338:
no 25; 3.17g, 12,

no 26; 3.83g, 12. overstr. on issue of Series 14
no 27; 5.31g, 12. tripod cmk. Sphinx wears corinthian helmet. **fig. 21**

Chios

K. L.:
no. 12; weight not recorded. 12. **fig. 22**

Istanbul

A. M.:
no. 6907; 3.17g, 12. **fig. 23**
no. 6908; 2.97g, 12. **fig. 24**

Paris

B. N.:
no 3076; 3.78g, 12. overstr. on issue of Series 14. **fig. 25**
no 3077; 3.80g, 12. tripod cmk
no 3078; 3.57g, 12
no 3129; 4.94g, 12, overstr. on issue of Series 14; two different tripod cmks, one on obv. and other on rev.
G. c. : 12
N. 1926; 12
Dup. sec:
ST; 3.66g, 12
3.63g, 12
4.24g, 12, overstr. on issue of Series 14 (traces of second undertype of 13a or 13b is visible).
ST; 2.97g, 12, overstr. on issue of Series 14

Vienna

K.M.:
no 17935; 3.75g, 12

Munich

M.K.:
no acc. number; 3.12g, 12. overstr. on issue of Series 14

Berlin

M. K.:
L. 1906; 3.96g, 12. **fig. 26**
no 28723; 3.73g, 12. **fig. 27**
F. 1873; 2.77g, 11. A coin from the same dies was sold by this museum
City of Cassel, 1925; 3.46g, 12

Waddel, List 20, Oct. 1985
no. 86

Ratto, Lugano, Auction of 8-2-28
no. 664

Moneyer: ΙΚΕΣΙΟΣ

no. of recorded coins cmked with tripod symbol: 9

London

B. M.:

no acc. number; 4.37g, 1

no 66; 3.56g, 12

K. c.:

no 751; 4.13g, 12, overstr. on issue of Series 14

no 700; 2.76g, 1, overstr. on issue of Series 14 and cmk. tripod

Cambridge

F. M.:

M. c. no 8375; 3.17g, 12

Oxford

A. M.:

M. 1944; 4.14g, 12

C. C.; 2.92g, 12

Durham

Lagos collection:

3.43g, 12. XRF analysis of this coin gave 56% cu, 23% sa.

Glasgow

G. U.:

H. c., Chios no 16; 3.49g, 11 **fig. 28**

H. c., Chios no 16; 2.91g, 12

Amsterdam

A. W. A:

no. 88; 4.44g, die axis not recorded

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:

no 1577, R. 27; 4.70g, 12

no 1578, R. 28; 4.38g, 12, two different tripod cmks, one on obv. and the other on rev.

Aarhus

U. c.:

no 769, P. no 185; 3.18g, 12

Athens

N. M.:

IGCH 1336;

no 9; 2.93g, 12. **fig. 29**

Chios

K. L.:

no. 13; weight not recorded, 12, tripod cmk.

Paris

B. N.:

no 3080: 4.69g. 12. **fig. 30**
no 3081: 3.86g. 12. overstr. on issue of Series 14 and cmk tripod. **fig. 31**
no 3082: 3.37g. 12. tripod cmk
no 3083: 4.89g. 12. tripod cmk
no 3084: 3.48g. 12. tripod cmk
no 3085: 3.96g. 12. overstr. on issue of Series 14 and tripod cmk
R. : 12
D. l. c.: n 2679. 4.00g. 12. tripod cmk. **fig. 32**
Dup. sec:
ST: 4.05g. 6
ST: 3.26g. 12
2.64g. 12. overstr. on issue of Series 14

Vienna

K. M.:
no 17936: 3.91g. 12

S. S.:
no 3365: 3.34g. 12
no 3366: 2.93g. 12

Munich

M. K.:
2.43g. 1

Berlin

M. K.:
P. O. 1875: 3.94g. 12
L. 1906. no 2026: 3.64g. 1
D. : 3.44g. 6
I. B. 1900: 3.16g. 12
L. 1906. no 2106: 3.68g. 12. **fig. 33**

Leipsing

L. U.:
no. 1217

Hess. Frankfurt, auction 6-1-26
no. 350

Waddel auction I, Dec. 1982
no. 222: 3.48g. 12

GROUP B

Obv: sphinx seated to the r, symbol an ear of grain in front.
Rev: amphora in the centre, name of moneyer in field to the r, ethnic legend XIOΣ in field to the l.
No symbol appears on rev.

Moneyer: ΑΕΩΜΕΔΩΝ
no. of recorded coins cmked: 0

London

B. M.:
no 4-11-895; 3.36g, 12. **Pl. VI, fig. 1**
no 67; 4.07g, 12

Oxford

A. M.:
3.88g, 1

Glasgow

G. U.
H. c., Chios no. 18; 2.85g, 12
H. c., Chios no. 19; 3.82g, 12, overstruck on an earlier unidentified Chian issue.

Amsterdam

A. W. A.:
no. 89; 3.45g, die axis not recorded

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:
no 1587, R. 37; 4.29g, 12

Athens

N. M.:
IGCH 1338:
no. 29; 3.41g, 12

E. c.:
2.82g, 12

Paris

B. N.:
no 3107; 4.69g, 12. **fig. 2**
Dup. sec.:
3.59g, 12. **fig. 3**

Munich

M. K.:
no. 11549; 3.80g, 12

Berlin

M. K.:
no 5637, J.F.; 4.62g, 12. **fig. 4**
L. 1906 S2106; 3.62g, 12
P. O. 1875; 3.16g, 12

Moneyer: ΠΟΛΙΑΝΘΟΣ

no. of recorded coins cmked with tripod symbol: **4**

London

B. M.:

no 893; 3.82g, 12. ΠΟΛΙΑΝΘΟΣ. **fig. 5**

Cambridge

F. M.:

L. c. ; 3.33g, 12

Oxford

A. M.:

2.91g, 11, overstr. on issue of Series 14 and tripod cmk

M. 1924; 2.91g, 1

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:

no 1588, R. 42; 4.00g, 12

no 1589, R. 43; 3.17g, 12, overstr. on issue of Series 14 and tripod cmk

Athens

N. M.:

no 5528; 3.26g, 1

1899-1900, no ΛΗ, 16; 3.90g, 12

no 5929; 3.61g, 1

Chios

K. L.:

no 17; weight not recorded; 12. **fig. 6**

Paris

B. N:

ST no 3114; 3.36g, 12

no 3115; 3.55g, 12, ΠΟΛΙΑΝΘΟΣ. **fig. 7**

Dup.sec.:

3.38g, 12. **fig. 8**

3.27g, 12

3.83g, 12

3.54g, 12, tripod cmk

ST; 3.79g, 12, tripod cmk

Vienna

K. M.:

no 34488; 3.76g, 12

Berlin

M. K.:

F. 1873, acquired in 1865; 3.63g, 12

no 1551/1905; 4.44g, 12. **fig. 9**

F. 1873, acquired in 1865; 3.16g, 11. Another coin from the same dies, L. 1906 S2106, was sold by this museum **fig. 10**

Moneyer: ΦΟΙΝΙΞ

no. of recorded coins cmked with tripod symbol: **2**

London

B. M.:
no 894; 3.09g, 12. **fig. 11**

K. c.:
no 2; 4.01g, 12

Oxford

A. M.:
M. 1947; 3.38g, 11

Glasgow

G. U.:
H. c., Chios no. 20; 3.98g, 12. **fig. 12**
H. c., Chios no. 21; 3.95g, 12

Amsterdam

A. W. A:
no. 90; 4.22g, die axis not recorded

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:
no 1599, R. 52, 4.39g, 12, two different tripod cmks, one on the obv. and the other on rev.
no 1600, M.: 3.28g, 12, tripod cmk

Athens

N. M.:
1899-1900, no AH, 21; 4.05g, 1
no acc. number ; 3.82g, 12
IGCH 1337:
no 19; 4.04g, 12
IGCH 1338:
no 30; 3.52g, 12

Paris

B. N. :
no 3128; 3.97g, 12. **fig. 13**
Dup. sec.:
ST; 3.91g, 12
ST; 3.77g, 12
3.75g, 12

Vienna

K. M.:
no. 17963; 3.75g, 12. **fig. 14**
T, no. 17964; 3.93g, 12

I. N.:
no 7533; 2.44g, 12

Berlin

M. K.:
no 28723; 2.90g, 12
I. 1906 no 52106; 3.84g, 12
E. 1873; 5.25g, 12
I. B. 1900, 3.80g, 11

GROUP C

Obv: sphinx seated to the r. no symbol in front.

Rev: amphora in the centre, name of moneyer in field to the r, ethnic legend XIOΣ in field to the l.
Symbol an ear of grain in a break in the ethnic legend.

Moneyer: ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ

no. of recorded coins cmked with tripod symbol: **1**

London

K. c.:
no 442; 3.90g, 12

Oxford

A. M.:
M. 124; 3.60g, 12
C. C.: 4.03g, 1
ex B. s.; 3.92g, 1

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:
no 1569, R. 21; 3.81g, 12, overstr. on issue of Series 14 and cmk tripod

Athens

N. M.:
1899-1900, no ΔΗ, 5; 4.40g, 12, overstr. on issue of Series 14
1891-2. no ΚΖ, 341; 4.28g, 12, overstr. ?
IGCH 1338:
no 1; 3.60g, 1. **Pl. VII, fig. 1**

Paris

B. N.:
no 3066; 3.62g, 12. **fig. 2**
G. c.; 12
Dup. sec.:
2.41g, 12

Berlin

M. K.:
L. 1906; 3.65g, 12. **fig. 3**
I. B. 1900; 4.18g, 12. Another coin of the same dies was sold by this museum

Istanbul

A. M.:
no. 6900; 2.42g, 2. **fig. 4**

Italo Vecchi, London; auction catalogue, no. 1, Feb. 1996
no. 304; 3.98g, die axis not recorded

Toderi, Numismatica, list 4, Dec. 1975
no. 107.

Moneyer: ΚΗΦΙΣΙΑΔΗΣ

no. of recorded coins cmked with tripod symbol: **2**

London

B. M.:
no. 896; 3.00g, 12. **fig. 5**

Cambridge

F. M.:
M. c., no 8377; 4.02g, 1, two different tripod cmks, one on the obv. and the other on the rev. **fig. 6**

Glasgow

G. U.:
H. c., Chios no 10; 4.21g, 12

Oxford

A. M.:
3.93g, 1, tripod cmk.

Paris

B. N.:
N. 1926; 12. **fig. 7**

Vienna

K. M.:
no. 17944; 4.60g, 12. **fig. 8**

Munich

M. K.:
no. 17940; 3.63g, 12

Berlin

M. K.:
F. 1873 {acq. in 1865}; 4.14g, 12. **fig. 9**
L. 1906, no S2106; 3.77, 12. **fig. 10**

Moneyer: ΑΕΩΜΕΑΩΝ

no. of recorded coins cmked with tripod symbol: **0**

London

B. M.:
4-11-913; 1.89g, 1. **fig. 11**

Oxford

A. M.:
3.28g, 1

Glasgow

G. U.:
H. c., Chios no 9; 5.21g, 12
C. c.; 4.71g, 12. **fig. 12**

Athens

N. M.:
IGCH 1338
no. 2; 5.49g, 12.

E. c.:

3.67g, 12

Chios

K. L.:
no. 15; weight not recorded, 12

Paris

B. N.:
no. 3106; 3.70g, 1

Vienna

K. M.:
no. 17952; 4.04g, 12.

S. S.:
no. 3364; 4.59g, 12. **fig. 13**

Berlin

M. K.:
I. B. 1900; 3.70, 12. **fig. 14**
L. 1906, no. S2166; 4.65g, 12. **fig. 15**
F. 1873; 3.64g, 12

Shulten auct. Mar. 1990
ex. lot no. 359; weight and die axis not recorded

GROUP D

Obv: sphinx seated to the r, symbol bunch of grapes in front.
Rev: amphora in the centre, name of moneyer in field to the r, ethnic legend XIOΣ in field to the l.
Symbol ear of grain in a break in the ethnic legend.
Variety ii: as above types, except for secondary symbol, an eight-rayed star, appearing in the rev. type, to the r. of the base of the amphora.

Moneyer: ΑΣΠΑΣΙΟΣ

no. of recorded coins cmked with tripod symbol (for both varieties in this group): **2**

London

B. M.:
no. 892; 2.63g, 11. **Pl. VIII, fig. 1**

Athens

N. M.:
IGCH 1337:
no. 4; 4.39g, 12. **fig. 2**
IGCH 1338:
no. 10; 2.91g, 12. **fig. 3**

Cambridge

F. M.:
4.53g, 11.

Oxford

A. M.:
3.38g, 11

Glasgow

G. U.:
H. c., Chios no. 22; 3.30g, 12; tripod cmk, and overstruck on an issue of Series 17, group A.

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:
no. 1567, R. 17; 3.97, 12

Paris

B. N.:
no. 3061; 4.21g, 11. **fig. 6**

Berlin

M. K.:
F. 1873 {acq. in 1865}; 4.17g, 11. **fig. 7**

variety ii

Cambridge

F. M.:
no. 269; 4.04g, 12. **fig. 8**

Oxford

A. M.:
3.13g, 12, tripod cmk.

Athens

N. M.:
no: 1908-9, KA 1; 2.73g, 12
IGCH 1337:
no. 3; 4.51g, 6. **fig. 9**
no. 5; 4.42g, 11. **fig. 10**
IGCH 1338:
no. 19; 5.03, 12

Chios

K. L.:
no. 23; weight not recorded; 1

Berlin

M. K.:
I.B. 1900; 3.70g, 12
no. 28723; 4.06g, 11

Moneyer: ΑΕΩΜΩΔΩΝ

no. of recorded coins cmked with tripod symbol (both varieties in this group): **1**

London

Kinns coll.

no. 1489; 3.63g, 12. **fig. 11**

Glasgow

G. U.:

H. c., Chios no. 23; 3.33g, 11

Athens

N. M.:

IGCH 1337:

no 12; 3.50, 11.

Chios

K. L.:

no. 22; weight not recorded; 1. **fig. 12**

Berlin

M. K.:

L. 1905, S2106; 3.86g, 10.

variety ii

London

B. M.:

no. 68; 4.43g, 1. **fig. 13**

Oxford

A. M.:

3.75g, 7. **fig. 14**

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:

n 1586, R. 36; 3.43g, 12

Athens

N. M.:

IGCH 1338:

no. 15; 3.39g, 12

Chios

K. L.:

no. 14; weight not recorded, 12. **fig. 15**

Paris

B. N.:

no. 3106; 3.70g, 1

Vienna

K. M.:

no. 17951; 3.72g, 1

Berlin

M. K.:
F. 1873, acquired in 1865; 3.51g, 2. **fig. 16**
I. B. 1900; 4.57g, 1. **fig. 17**
745 / 1920; 3.15g, 1. **fig. 18**

Moneyer: TIMANΔPOΣ

no. of recorded coins cmked with tripod symbol (both varieties in this group): **2**

Oxford

A. M.:
3.35g, 12. **fig. 19**

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:
n 1594, F. : 3.66g, 10

Paris

B. N.:
D. L. c., no. 2678; 2.80g, 12

Vienna

K. M.:
no. 17960; 4.26g, 12. **fig. 20**

Athens

C. b. c.:
4.13g, 12

E. c.:
3.62g, 6. **fig. 21**

variety ii

Glasgow

G. U.:
H. c., Chios no. 32; 4.73g, 12. **fig. 22**

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:
no. 1595, I.. 1938; 3.45g, 12
no. 1596, R. 49; 2.97g, 12, tripod cmk.

Athens

N. M.:
1911-12, IH': 5.58g, 3
no. 5533; 2.84g, 1
IGCH 1338:
no. 16; 3.82g, 11

C. b. c.:
no. 923M; 4.13g, 12

E. c.:
3.62g, 6, tripod cmk

Paris

B. N.:
no. 3126; 4.48g, 12

Vienna

K. M.:
3.94g, 1

Munich

M. K.:
3.94g, 1

Berlin

M. K.:
L. S2106; 4.13, 1. **fig. 23**

GROUP E

Obv: sphinx seated to the r., symbol bunch of grapes in front.
Rev: amphora in the centre, name of moneyer in field to the r, ethnic legend XIOΣ in field to the l.
Symbol, race-torch in a break in the ethnic legend.
Variety ii: as above types, except for a secondary symbol in the rev. type, a wing, in the field r. of the name of the moneyer.

Moneyer: ΚΗΦΙΣΙΔΗΣ
no. of recorded coins cmked with tripod symbol (for both varieties in this group): **3**

London

B. M.:
no. 69; 3.48g, 12
no. 897; 4.47g, 12. **Pl. IX, fig. 1**

Cambridge

F. M.:
M. c., no 8376; 5.01g, 10

Oxford

A. M.:
3.42g, 11

Glasgow

G. U.:
H. c., Chios no. 24; 4.27g, 11. **fig. 2**
H. c., Chios no. 25; 3.75g, 11: two tripod cmks, one on the obv. and the other on the rev. of the coin. Overstruck on an earlier unidentified Chian issue. **fig. 3**

Athens

N. M.:
IGCH 1338:
no. 13; 3.39g, 1

Chios

K. L.:

Found at mount Aipos of Chios and published by Lambrinoudakis, 1984, p. 299, note 9; and p. 300, fig. 6. No further details available at present.

Paris

B. N.:
no. 3092; 3.49g, 12. **fig. 4**
no. 3096; 2.88g, 11
D. L. c., no 2680; 3.45, 12
Dup. sec.:
ST, 2.90g, 11
ST; 4.34g, 11

Vienna

K. M.:
no. 17941; 4.04g, 12. **fig. 5**
no. 17942; 4.23g, 11, tripod cmk.

variety ii

London

K. c.:
no 668; 3.64g, 12

Oxford

A. M.:
3.17g, 12

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:
no 1579, R. 31; 4.16, 12. **fig. 6**

Athens

N. M.:
IGCH 1338:
no. 11; 4.27g, 10. **fig. 7**
no. 12; 3.84g, 1

Chios

K. L.:
no. 15; 12

Paris

B. N.:
G. c.; 11
G. c.; 11
Dup. sec.:
ST; 3.42g, 12, tripod cmk.
no. 3092; 3.49g, 12

Vienna

K. M.:
T, no. 17937; 3.78g, 12. **fig. 8**

Berlin

M. K.:

no. 10922; 3.38g, 1
L. 1906, no. 2168, 4.39g, 1. **fig. 9**

Moneyer: KYΛΛΑΝΟΣ

no. of recorded coins cmked with tripod symbol (for both varieties in this group): **5**

London

B. M.:
no. 898; 4.36g, 12

Oxford

A. M.:
3.77g, 11

Glasgow

G. U.:
H. c., Chios no. 26; 3.11g, 12; tripod cmk. **fig. 10**
H. c., Chios no. 28; 5.44g, 12; tripod cmk.

Paris

B. N.:
G. c.; 12
Dup. sec.:
3.93g, 12. **fig. 11**
3.78g, 12. **fig. 12**

Vienna

K. M.:
no. 17945; 4.47g, 12

Berlin

M. K.:
P. O. 1875; 3.93g, 12. **fig. 13**: another coin from the same dies was sold by this museum
L. 1906; 3.62g, 12
F. 1873; 12

variety ii

London

B. M.:
no. 72; 5.27g, 12

Cambridge

F. M.:
L. c.; 4.53g, 11. **fig. 14**

Chios

K. L.:
no 14, 12

Paris

B. N.:
no. 3099; 4.74g, 11
no. 3100; 3.53g, 11, tripod cmk. **fig. 15**
Amourel, 17;1:21;N78; 12

Dup. sec.:
ST: 3.42g, 12, tripod cmk

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:
no 1580, R. 32: 4.19g, 4. **fig. 16**

Vienna

K. M.:
T. no. 17946: 3.42g, 11, tripod cmk. **fig. 17**

Berlin

M. K.:
L. 1906, no. 7973; 3.93g, 11

Spink. N. C., Nov. 1986
no. 7482

Moneyer: ΛΑΜΠΡΟΣ

no. of recorded coins cmked with tripod symbol (for both varieties in this group): **3**

London

B. M.:
no. 68; 4.40g, 12
no. 73; 3.52g, 12

Oxford

A. M.:
3.42g, 11, same obv. die with Gl. 25. **fig. 18**
5.28g, 12

Glasgow

G. U.:
H. c., Chios no 30; 4.53g, 12
H. c., Chios no 31; 4.08g, 12: overstruck on an issue bearing a wreath type, Series 13a or 13b ?

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:
n 1582, R. 34: 2.75g, 12

Athens

N. M.:
IGCH 1338:
no. 14; 3.61g, 11

C. b. c:
no. 3097 {ex. Triantafillou coll.}, 2.95g, 12

Chios

K. L.:
no. 16; weight not recorded: 12. **fig. 19**

Paris

B. N.:
no. 3102; 3.74g, 12. **fig. 20**

Dup. sec.:
3.94g, 12

Vienna

K. M.:
no. 17949; 3.99g, 12

Berlin

M. K.:
L. 1906; 3.70g, 11; another coin from the same dies was sold

variety ii

Istanbul

A. M.:
no. 6915; 3.05g, 11. **fig. 21**

London

B. M.:
no. 899; 2.94g, 12. **fig. 22**

Oxford

A. M.:
3.52g, 11

Glasgow

G. U.:
H. c., Chios no 29; 4.66g, 11

Amsterdam

A. W. A.:
no. 91; 3.80g, die axis not recorded

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:
no 1583, F. 236; 4.29g, 12. **fig. 23**
no 1584, R. 35; 2.80g, 12, tripod cmk. **fig. 24**
no 1585; 4.05g, 10, two tripod cmks., one on obv. and the other on rev. of coin. **fig. 25**

Athens

C. b. c.:
no. 927M; 4.28g, 12

Paris

B. N.:
no. 3104; 3.98g, 1, tripod cmk
D. L. c.; no. 2680
G. c.: 12
Dup. sec.:
12

Vienna

K. M.:
T. no. 17948; 4.31g, 12

Munich

M. K.:
no. 2678; 2.74g, 12

Vienna

K. M.:
no. 17950; 3.84g, 1

Berlin

M. K.:
L. 1906, no. B2168; 3.04g, 1. **fig. 26**
L. 1906, no. S2106; 3.86g, 12
F. 1873, acquired in 1865; 2.78g, 12

Aarhus

University coll.:
no. 770; 3.25, 10. **fig. 27**

GROUP F

Obv: sphinx seated to the r., symbol eight-rayed star in front.

Rev: amphora in the centre, name of moneyer in field to the r, ethnic legend XIOΣ in field to the l.

Symbol, prow of galley appears in a break in the ethnic legend; this is depicted on a few coins horizontal or parallel to the amphora.

Moneyer: APIΣTOMA[XOΣ]

no. of recorded coins cmkd with tripod symbol: **2**

London

K. c.:
no 766; 4.01g, 12. **fig. 1**

Cambridge

F. M.:
L. c., 5.11g, 12. **fig. 2**

Glasgow

G. U.:
H. c., Chios no 33; 3.88g, 12
H. c., Chios no 34; 3.95g, 12

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:
no 1565, R. 15; 4.06, 12
no 1566, M 2185; 5.37, 12

Athens

N. M.:
IGCH 1338;
no 17; 4.05g, 12. tripod cmk

Chios

Found on mount Aipos at Chios. Published in Lambrinoudakis, 1984, p. 200, note 10; and p. 300, fig. 6. No further details available at present.

Paris

B. N.:

no 3054: 3.72g, 12
no 3055: 3.67g, 12
no 3056: 3.43g, 12, overstr.
no 3057: 4.27g, 12

Vienna

K. M.:

no 17931: 4.00g, 12. **fig. 3**

Berlin

M. K.:

I. B. 1900: 3.70g, 12. **fig. 4**
F. 1877: 3.85g, 12
V. G.: 4.65g, 12. **fig. 5**
L. 1906, no 2650: 3.85g, 12

Moneyer: KYAAANOΣ

no. of recorded coins cmked with tripod symbol: **3**

Oxford

A. M.:

3.14g, 1. **fig. 6**
3.43g, 11. **fig. 7**

Glasgow

G. U.:

no. 27; 4.66g, 11, tripod cmk. Macdonald 1901. has wrongly classified this coin under the ear of grain symbol instead of the correct prow of ship. **fig. 8**

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:

no 1581, R. 33; 4.20, 12

Athens

N. M.:

IGCH 1338:
no 18: 3.44g, 12. **fig. 9**

Paris

B. N.:

no. 3097; 3.84g, 12
no. 3098; 4.67g, 11, tripod cmk
Dup. sec.:
3.78g, 12. **fig. 10**
3.93g, 12. **fig. 11**
4.11g, 12
SF; 3.82g, 12, tripod cmk

Vienna

K. M.:

I no 17954: 4.50g, 12

Berlin

M. K.:
L. 1906, no S 2106; 4.15g, 6. **fig. 12**
V. Herrmann; 4.41g, 12

Monnaies Antiques et Modernes, Bordeaux, Auction Dec. 1985
no. 55

Moneyer: ΣΤΑΦΥΛΟΣ

no. of recorded coins cmked with tripod symbol: **5**

London

B. M.:
no. 134; 4.65g, 12. **fig. 13**

Oxford

A. M.:
C. C.; 3.38g, 12, tripod cmk. **fig. 14**

Glasgow

G. U.:
H. c., Chios no. 39; 3.62g, 5. **fig. 15**

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:
no 1590, R. 46; 3.73g, 10
no 1591, R. 47; 4.57g, 12, tripod cmk.

Athens

N. M.:
no 5530; 3.25g, 12. **fig. 16**
1903-4 B 2; 3.65g, 12

Istanbul

A. M.:
no. 6920; 3.50g, 12. **fig. 17**

Paris

B. N.:
no 3116; 3.38g, 12, tripod cmk
no 3117 ST; 3.11g, 12. **fig. 18**
no 3118; 3.96g, 11, tripod cmk
no 3119; 4.76g, 6, overstr. on an issue of Series 16 with traces of name BATI[Σ] visible as part of the undertype. Two different tripod cmks, one on the obv and the other on the rev. of coin
Dup. sec.:
3.09g, 12

Vienna

K. M.:
no 17958 T; 4.19g, 12

Munich

M. K.:
3.21g, 12

Berlin

M. K.:
4.47g, 6. **fig. 19**
F. 1873, acquired in 1865; 3.33g, 12.
F. 1873, acquired in 1865; 3.45g, 12

Numart Italiana, Milano, List Dec. 1979
no. 97

GROUP G

Obv: sphinx seated to the r., symbol eight-rayed star in front.
Rev: amphora in the centre, name of moneyer in field to the r, ethnic legend XIOΣ in field to the l.
Symbol caduceus to the l of ethnic legend.

Moneyer: ΓΝΩΞΙΣ

no. of recorded coins cmked with tripod symbol: **3**

London

B. M.:
no 75; 4.03g, 11
no 76; 3.04g, 11

Cambridge

F. M.:
L. c.; 5.01g, 1. **Pl. XI, fig. 1**

Oxford

A. M.:
G.; 3.35g, 12
C. C.; 3.80g, 1

Glasgow

G. U.:
H. c., Chios no. 35; 3.69g, 12; overstruck on an issue of ΛΑΜΠΡΟΣ

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:
no 1568, R. 26; 3.91g, 12, two tripod cmks., one on the obv. and the other on the rev. of the coin. **fig. 2**

Athens

N. M.:
no 5508; 4.84g, 12. **fig. 3**
no 5505; 3.41g, 12. **fig. 4**
1899-1900, no ΛΗΗ; 3.66g, 11, tripod cmk

Chios

K. L.:
no 11; weight not recorded, 12, tripod cmk.

Paris

B. N.:
no. 3064; 3.24g, 12
no. 3065; 3.36g, 12. **fig. 5**
Dup. sec.:
S1; 4.60g, 12

ST: 2.95g, 12

Munich

T. U.:
n 3259: 3.63g, 12

Berlin

M. K.:
no 10492: 3.68g, 11
L. 1906, no 1860: 3.53g, 11
P. O. 1875: 4.41g, 11
V. R.: 4.00g, 12

Waddel, Dec. 1985, List 21
no. 321

Moneyer: THΛEMAXOΣ

no. of recorded coins cmked with tripod symbol: **2**

London

B. M.:
no. 77: 4.40g, 12. **fig. 6**

Glasgow

G. U.
H. c., Chios no. 36: 3.82g, 11
H. c., Chios no. 37: 3.40g, 11. **fig. 7**

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:
no 1592, R. 48. 2.91g, 10, tripod cmk. **fig. 8**
no 1593, O. N. B. 1905: 4.60, 12

Athens

N. M.:
no 5532: 4.75g, 12. **fig. 9**
1903-4, no B 9: 3.44g, 11
1899-1900, no AH 20: 3.49g, 11, two different tripod cmks, one on the obv. and on the rev. **fig. 10**
IGCH 1338:
no 33: 2.80g, 12. overstruck on issue of Series 16

Paris

B. N.:
no 3057A: 3.54g, 12. **fig. 11**
no 3124: 3.81g, 11
Dup. sec.:
4.00g, 12

Vienna

K. M.:
no 17959 T: 4.98g, 11

Munich
no 28434: 3.45g, 11

Berlin

M. K.:
I. B. 1900; 4.75g, 12. **fig. 12**
V. R.: 2.62g, 12
L. 1906 no 2494; 3.87g, 12
L 1906 no 52106; 3.57g, 12

GROUP H

Obv: sphinx seated to the r., symbol eight-rayed star in front.
Rev: amphora in the centre, name of moneyer in field to the r., ethnic legend XIOΣ in field to the l.
No symbol appears in the rev. type.

Moneyer: TIMOKΛΗΣ
no. of recorded coins cmked with tripod symbol: **1**

Cambridge

F. M.:
3.76g, 11. **fig. 13**

Oxford

A. M.:
B. s. 1949, ex M. c.; 3.58g, 12. **fig. 14**

Glasgow

G. U.:
H. c., Chios no. 38; 2.94g, 12. **fig. 15**

London

B. M.:
no 908; 4.53g, 11
no 78; 3.36g, 12
no 891; 3.64, 12

Amsterdam

A. W. A:
no. 92; 4.24g, die axis not recorded

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:
no 1597, R. 50; 4.94g, 12
no 1598, R. 51; 3.42g, 12. tripod cmk. and overstr. on other issue

Athens

N. M.:
IGCH 1338:
no 18; 4.22g, 12

Paris

B. N.:
no 3125; 3.52g, 12
G. c.; 6
Dup. sec.:

Saint Omer

Saint Omer Museum:

3.67g, 1

Vienna

K. M.:
no 17961; 3.63g, 12

Munich

M. K.:
no 29195; 11.

Berlin

M. K.:
J. F. no 5166; 3.67g, 12. **fig. 17**
Friedland.; 4.73g, 11
F.: 3.52g, 12. L. 1906, S 2106, a coin from the same dies was sold by the M. K.

Former Lindgren coll.
no. 582; 2.78g.

Spink. N. C. , May 1994
no. 3025. **fig. 18**

GROUP I

Obv: sphinx seated to the r., club in front. In some issues a letter appears under the sphinx.
Rev: amphora in the centre, name of moneyer in field to the r., ethnic legend XIOΣ in field to the l.
Symbol aplustre, to the l. of ethnic legend

Moneyer: KAYKΑΣΙΩ[N]

no. of recorded coins cmked with tripod symbol: **5**

Cambridge

F. M.:
M. c., no 8382; 3.53g, 11. **Pl. XII, fig. 1**

Oxford

A. M.:
N. C. c.; 4.49g, 12, letters Πo under sphinx. **fig. 2**
B. s.; 3.97g, 11
St. J. C. c.; 3.93g, 11

Glasgow

G. U.:
H. c., Chios no. 40; 3.56g, 12; letter Π beneath sphinx
H. c., Chios no. 41; 3.59g, 12; tripod cmk. **fig. 3**

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:
no 1601, R. 30; 3.39g, 12, tripod cmk. and overstruck on other issue
no 1602, R. 29; 3.41g, 12

Athens

N. M.:
IGCH 1337:
no 10; 4.07g, 12, tripod cmk
no 12; 3.99g, 12

IGCH 1338:

no 3: 4.43g, 11, tripod cmk. **fig. 4**

Larisa

T. c.:

no weight recorded, 12

Chios

B. L.:

no. 18; weight not recorded; 12

Paris

B. N.:

no 3087; 3.77g, 12

no 3088; 3.17g, 11. **fig. 5**

no 3089; 3.81g, 11

no 3090; 4.01g, 12, tripod cmk

no 3091; 3.42g, 11, tripod cmk

G. c. 1925; 6; 12

Dup. sec.:

3.38g, 12

Vienna

K. M.:

no 17939; 3.81g, 12

no 17943; 4.45g, 12. **fig. 6**

Munich

M. K.:

3.38g, 11

T.U.:

no. 3262; 3.77g, 12

Berlin

M. K.:

I. B. 1900; 4.35g, 12

L. 1906; 3.51g, 12

F. 1873, acquired in 1865; 3.85g, 11. **fig. 7**

F. 1873, acquired in 1865; 4.97g, 12

City of Cassel 1925; 3.10g, 11, overstr.

Nurnberg

Erlangen University collection:

no. 173; 3.54g, 12

Otago

O. M.:

no. 847; 4.20g, 11

Kastner cata. 8-11-1975

no. 68; 3.11g, die axis not recorded; illustr.

C. N. R., vol XVII, no 4

no. 138; weight and die axis not recorded; illustr.

Moneyer: MENEΣΘΕΥ[Σ]

no. of recorded coins cmked with tripod symbol: **3**

London

B. M.:

no 82: 3.76g, 1, letter Π under the sphinx. **fig. 8**

no 83: 4.56g, 1

no 904: 3.92g, 12

no 887: 4.91g, 12

K. c.:

no 804: 4.41g, 11

Cambridge

F. M.:

M. c., no 8378: 3.22g, 12

Oxford

A. M.:

M. 1944: 3.96g, 11

C. C.: 4.01g, 11

Glasgow

G. U.:

H. c., Chios no. 42: 3.43g, 11: letter Π beneath sphinx, tripod cmk. **fig. 9**

H. c., Chios no. 43: 4.21g, 12: letter Π beneath sphinx, tripod cmk.

H. c., Chios no. 44: 5.21g, 12: letter Π beneath sphinx

Amsterdam

A. W. A:

no. 93: 4.70g, die axis not recorded

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:

no 1603, R. 38: 4.12g, 12, overstr. on earlier issue, letter Π under sphinx. **fig. 10**

no 1604, F. 1841: 4.48g, 12

Athens

N. M.:

IGCH 1337:

no 13: 3.92g, 11

no 14: 3.76g, 11

IGCH 1338:

no 4: 4.21g, 12

no 5: 3.76g, 11

no 6: 3.90g, 12

no 7: 3.71g, 12

A. A.:

4.07g, 12

Chios

K. L.:

no. 19: weight not recorded, 11, letter Π under sphinx. **fig. 11**

no. 20: weight not recorded: 12, letter Π under sphinx

Paris

B. N.:
no 3110; 3.92g, 12
no 3111; 4.19g, 12
no 3112 ST: 3.79g, 11, tripod cmk
no 3113; 3.77g, 12, overstr.
G. c. 1925; 4; 12
Dup. sec.:
ST: 4.21g, 12
ST: 3.95g, 12. **fig. 12**

Vienna

K. M.:
no 17947; 3.82g, 12
no 17953; 3.71g, 12
no 17955; 4.05g, 12

Berlin

M. K.:
F. 1873, acquired in 1865; 3.82g, 12
L. 1905; 3.76g, 12. **fig. 13**
V. R.; 4.13g, 11
L. 1905 no 52106; 3.56g, 12. **fig. 14**

Leipsing

L. U.:
no. 1218

Moneyer: ΣΩΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ

no. of recorded coins cmked with tripod symbol: **5**

London

B. M.:
no acc. number; 4.28g, 11
no acc. number; 3.37g, 11
no acc. number; 4.03g, 11. **fig. 15**

K. c.:
no 257; 4.69g, 11, tripod cmk. **fig. 16**
no 1127; 4.43g, 12. **fig. 17**

Oxford

A. M.:
3.60g, 11
G.; 3.61g, 11
M. 1924; 3.72g, 11, letters Πο under sphinx

Glasgow

G. U.:
H. c., Chios no 45; 3.62g, 12; letter Π beneath sphinx

Amsterdam

A. W. A.:
no. 94; 2.92, die axis not recorded

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:
no 1605, F. 1841; 3.94g, 12

no 1606, R. 45; 3.39g, 12. tripod cmk.

Aarchus

U. c.:
no. 771; 3.64g, 12

Athens

N. M.:
1891-2, Charilaos Trikoupis {the Greek Premier at the time} I' 147; 5.37g, 1
1899-1900, Christodoulou, LH' 18; 3.05g, 12
1899-1900, Christodoulou, LH' 19; 3.56g, 12. **fig. 18**
IGCH 1337:
no 17; 4.06g, 12. **fig. 19**
IGCH 1338:
no 8; 3.32g, 12
no 24; 3.36g, 12. tripod cmk
no 34; 2.76g, 12. overstr.

Larisa

T. c.:
weight not recorded, 12

Paris

B. N.:
no 3120; 3.17g, 12
no 3121; 3.30g, 12
no 3122; 4.07g, 12. tripod cmk
no 3123; 3.31g, 12. tripod cmk
Dup. sec.:
ST; 4.02g, 12
ST; 3.05g, 12
ST; 4.06g, 12

Vienna

K. M.:
no 17957; 4.03g, 12

Munich

M. K.:
3.94g, 11

Berlin

M. K.:
L. 1906 no 7973; 4.67g, 12
P. O. 1876; 3.24g, 12
P. F. 1861; 3.89g, 12
L. 1906 no 52106; 3.88g, 12

Denomination 17.II [M. 64]

14.00-12.00 mm.

Dichalkon

Av. weight: 1.9g (5 coins)

Obv: sphinx seated to the l. No symbol in front.

Rev: amphora in the centre, name of moneyer in field to the r., ethnic legend XIOΣ in field to the l.
On some coins an ear of grain symbol is visible to the l. of the ethnic.

Moneyer: EPMΩNAΞ

Chios

K. L.:

no 21; weight not recorded, 12; EPMΩNAΞ. **Pl. XIII, Series 17.II, fig. 1**

Paris

B. N.:

G. c.; weight not recorded, 12. **fig. 2**

Moneyer: HPOΔOTOΣ, wrong attribution by Maurogordato.

Berlin

M.K.:

13/2168; 1.67g, 12. **fig. 3**

Moneyer: ΘΕΡΣΗΣ; the issue of this moneyer in this denomination was unknown to Maurogordato.

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:

no. 1607, V. L. 1895; 2.05g, 12; ΘΕΡΣΗΣ. **fig. 4**

Moneyer: ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ.

Athens

N. M.:

IGCH 1338:

no 37; 1.98g, 12; [Δ]ΗΜΗΤΡ[ΙΟΣ]. **fig. 5**

Moneyer: ΚΗΦΙΣΙΔΗΣ, the issue of this moneyer in this denomination was unknown to Maurogordato.

Oxford

A. M.:

M. 1944; 2.05g, 12; ΚΗΦΙΣΙ[ΔΗΣ]. **fig. 6**

Moneyer: ΛΕΩΜΕΔΩΝ

London

B. M.:

no 4-11-913; 1.89g, 2; [Λ]ΕΩΜΕΔ[ΩΝ]. **fig. 7**

Denomination 17.III [M. 65]

9-10.00 mm.

Av. weight: 1.00g (38 coins)

Chalkous

Obv: sphinx seated to the l., no symbol in front.

Rev: amphora in the centre, name of moneyer in field to the r., ethnic legend XIOΣ to the l.

Some issues have symbol bunch of grapes above the ethnic.

Moneyer: ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜ[ΑΧΟΣ]

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:

no 1608, O. N. B. 1905; 0.79g, 12.

Munich

T. U.:

no 3265; 1.15g, 11

Moneyer: ΕΡΜΩΝΑΞ

London

B. M.:

no. 923; 0.74g, 12. **Pl. XIII, Series 17.III, fig. 1**

Moneyer: ΗΡΟΚΡΑΘΗΣ

London

K. c.:

no. 723; 1.10g, 11; ΗΡΟΚΡΑ[ΘΗΣ]

Cambridge

F. M.:

0.88g, 12; ΗΡΟΚ[ΡΑΘΗΣ]

Copenhagen

N. M.:

ΗΡΟΚΡ[ΑΘΗΣ]. The reverse type of this issue is a bunch of grapes. **fig. 2**

Oxford

A. M.:

Milne acq. from Nikol. 1924; 0.99g, 3;

0.77g, 12; ΗΡΟΚ[ΡΑΘΗΣ]. **fig. 3**

Athens

N. M.:

Kanell. coll.; 2.09g, 10; ΗΡΟΚΡ[ΑΘΗΣ]

Berlin

M. K.:

P. O. 1875; 0.96g, 11. **fig. 4**

I. B. 1900; 1.72g, 11.

Moneyer: ΗΡΟΣΤΡΑ[ΤΟΣ]

Munich

T. U.:
no. 3265; 1.15g, 11; ΗΡΟΣΤΡΑ[ΤΟΣ]. **fig. 5**

Moneyer: ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ

London

B. M.:
no 98; 0.78g, 11. **fig. 6**

K. c.:
no 1281; 0.89g, 6

Oxford

A. M.:
B. 1930; 0.71g, 11, overstruck on an issue of ΦΑΝΑΓ[ΟΡΑΣ], letters ΦΑΝΑ of the undertype visible on the obverse of the coin. **fig. 7** see also the enlargement of the photograph in **fig. A**

Athens

E. c.:
no details available at present. **fig. 8**

Paris

B. N.:
Naville, XII, 1926; weight not recorded, 12

Vienna

K. M.:
Pohl c., no. 38753; 1.00g, 12

Berlin

M. K.:
1.09g, 12.

Moneyer: ΑΥΣΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ

London

B. M.:
4-11-937; 0.90g, 6
4-11-926; 0.65g, 6. **fig. 9**

Moneyer: ΣΚΥΜΝΟΣ

Oxford

A. M.:
M. 1924; 1.05g, 1. **fig. 10**

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:
no. 1609, V. L. 1895; 0.82, 12; ΣΚΥΜ[ΝΟΣ]. **fig. 11**

Athens

N. M.:

1891-2. KZ' no. 345; 0.87g, 10;

Rhodes

A. M.:
inv. no. 672. **fig. 12**

Berlin

M. K.:
L. 1906; 1.32g, 12
L. 1906; 1.06g, 12
I. B. 1900; 1.17g, 6
0.97g, 11

Moneyer: ΣΤΑΦΥΛΟΣ

London

B. M.:
no 105; 1.09g, 11. **fig. 13**
no. 925; 0.94g, 12

Moneyer: ΤΙΜΑΝΔΡΟΣ

Athens

N. M.:
1901-2, H' 8; 0.63g, 11. **fig. 14**

Larisa

T. c.:
weight not recorded, 11

Paris

B. N.:
G. c., **fig. 15**

Moneyer: ΦΑΝΑΓ[ΟΡΑΣ]

London

B. M.:
no. 857; 0.69g, 12. **fig. 16**

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:
no. 1622, V. L. 1910; 1.30g, 12; ΦΑΝΑΓ[ΟΡΑΣ]. **fig. 17**

Athens

N. M.:
Kanell. coll. KG' no. 16; 0.70g, 12; ΦΑΝΑΓ[ΟΡΑΣ]

Vienna

K. M.:
1.04g, 9; ΦΑΝΑΓ[ΟΡΑΣ]. **fig. 18**

Munich

M. K.:

0.53g. 12
1.04g. 9

Berlin

M. K.:
Knobel. ; 1.13g, 11
L. 1906; 1.07g, 10. **fig. 19**

C. C. E. Mail Auction, April 1994
no. 178; ΦΑΝΑΓ[ΟΡΑΣ]

Issue on a smaller module and probably a different denomination to the above
hemichalkous ?

Moneyer: ΕΡΜΩΝΑΞ

Berlin

M. K.:
no. 10493; 0.87g, 11. **fig. 20**

II. 7. SERIES 18 (Pl. XIV)

1. General aspects: Issues of this series seem to have been produced as a supplementary coinage to certain denominations of Series 17. The largest of these have a module of approximately 13 mm and an average weight of 2.00g; they would probably have been of the dichalkon denomination. Seven moneyers are known to have signed issues of this denomination: ΑΘΗΝΑ[ΙΟΣ], ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜ[.], ΦΑΙΝΟΜΕΝ[ΟΣ], ΠΙΝΔΑΡΟΣ, ΗΓΗΜΩΝ, ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΤΟΣ, ΗΡΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ, and a total of twelve coins have been recorded.

The moneyers ΑΘΗΝΑ[ΙΟΣ], ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜ, ΗΡΟΚΡΑΤ[ΗΣ], ΦΑΙΝΟΜΕΝ[ΟΣ] and ΠΙΝΔΑ[ΡΟΣ] used obverse dies that are stylistically similar;³⁸⁵ this also applies for one coin signed by ΗΓΗΜΩΝ, though the other coins from this issue show a different style. Only a single die link has been established between issues in this group; a coin of ΑΘΗΝΑ[ΙΟΣ] (fig. 3) with a coin of ΦΑΙΝΟΜ[ΕΝΟΣ] (fig. 14). Another coin of ΗΓΗΜΩΝ (fig. 7) shows an obverse die similar to that of the unique coin of ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΤΟΣ (fig. 8). The sharing by different issues of common obverse dies and others of similar style suggest that the issues may have been struck together or within a limited period.

Issues of Series 18 are distinguished from those of the previous series from the distinctive dotted circle round their types which is absent from earlier issues. However there is a close stylistical affinity for types in the two series (17-18) suggesting that there may not have been a long interval between them. We may also note that the moneyer ΗΡΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ who signed the dichalkon in Series 18 is likely to be the same as the namesake moneyer in charge of a chalkous of Series 17.³⁸⁶

Issues of the smaller denomination for Series 18 have a module of 10 mm and an average weight of 0.80g, and probably represent the chalkous denomination. The weight and module of these issues is identical to that of Series 17.II and 17.III and it seems that they were issued to replace or to supplement these particular issues. As we saw they were much rarer

³⁸⁵ These are, Pl. XIV, ΑΘΗΝΑ[ΙΟΣ], figs. 1-3; ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜ, (unique coin) fig. 4; ΗΓΗΜΩΝ, fig. 6; ΗΡΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ, fig. 10; ΠΙΝΔΑΡΟΣ, figs. 11-13; ΦΑΙΝΟΜΕ[ΝΟΣ], fig. 14.

³⁸⁶ The name is very rare since it is found in a single Chian inscription of uncertain date, see Sarikakis, 1989, p. 212, no. 123.

than the common type in the series and there must have been a shortage of this coinage some time after their issue.

The issue is rare with seven coins in total recorded. The rarity of this chalkous is in line with what we have encountered for all other known fractions of the trichalkon of this mint for the Hellenistic period. Two coins are recorded for moneyers who also struck issues in the larger denomination, one each in the name of ΠΙΝΔΑ[ΡΟΣ], and ΦΑΙΝΟ[ΜΕΝΟΣ]. The bulk of coins of this denomination consists of issues of two moneyers, ΔΙΔΥΜ. and ΓΛΑΥΚ[ΟΣ], who are not known to have signed any issues of the larger denomination. Issues of both moneyers are die linked since a coin of ΓΛΑΥΚΟΣ illustrated in fig. 16 shares the same obverse die as the coin signed by ΔΙΔΥΜ and illustrated in fig. 18. The style of the issues signed by these two moneyers is close enough to issues of other moneyers in this series showing that they were probably struck together.

2. Proposed dating: Hoard IGCH, 1339, consisting of a number of coins of the trichalkon of Series 17 also included one coin of the dichalkon of Series 18.³⁸⁷ A proper study of this hoard is still pending and the condition of the coins are not defined in the publication. However it is not likely that this coin is a later intrusion and therefore this issue of Series 18 may not be far removed in date from issues of Series 17 represented in the hoard.

As we saw the name ΗΡΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ occurs on issues for both Series 17.III and 18, and could possibly represent the same individual -in light of the rarity of the name- striking successive issues for different series. The name ΑΘΗΝΑ which is found in an issue of Series 18.I and 18.II may stand for ΑΘΗΝΑ[ΙΟΣ], the moneyer who struck a Chian drachm during the early 2nd century BC (see below). Another link between a moneyer of this series and a drachm of the 'reduced' Attic weight is found in the name of ΓΛΑΥΚΟΣ].³⁸⁸

³⁸⁷ New York, ANS Coin Cabinet, inv. 1934.999, coin no. 999. 606, recorded in the archives of the ANS as Maurogordato 83 (1917, p. 225-226). This corresponds with the dichalkon of Series 18.

³⁸⁸ Maurogordato, 1918, pp. 76-77, first published the bronze coin in the supplement of his publication, where he rejects a link between the moneyer of the silver and his namesake of the bronze; see also Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 98, no. 20

Another link between an issue of this series and that of another Chian issue is provided by the moneyer ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΤΟΣ. The sphinx symbol and letter forms appearing on the tetradrachm is identical with the type on the bronze issue.³⁸⁹

Maurogordato dated these issues in his period 87-30 BC based exclusively on the style of the types.³⁹⁰ However his attempt in dating issues according to style does not seem to have been successful, since the available evidence shows that the proposed date is far too late. Even though issues dating to the 1st century BC show a variety of styles none of these compare to that of this series. The types and letter forms of the coin legends are typical of issues dated c. 200 BC and earlier. For example we may note the rendering of the letters, Θ and Ν.

Further chronological evidence is provided from the study of specimens of the chalkous. The moneyer ΔΙΔΥΜ used a die which is very similar in style to dies used in the chalkous of Series 17 (ΦΑΝΑΓΟΡΑΣ).³⁹¹ A coin of ΔΙΔΥΜ is overstruck on a coin of ΣΚΥΜΝΟΣ (fig. 18). All the above evidence suggests that this series may date to the early decades of the 2nd century BC.

3. Archaeological finds: A coin of ΓΛΑΥΚΟΣ acquired by the Athens Numismatic Museum in 1961 was found in the village of Episcopi on the island of Thera (Santorini).³⁹² This same area also yielded other coins of the Hellenistic period including ten bronze coins of Thera; seven of these appear to be of the same denomination as the Chian coin.³⁹³ It is therefore likely that they may have come from a single hoard that also included the Chian coin.³⁹⁴ The bronze coinage of Thera during the Hellenistic period is dated in general to the 3rd-2nd

³⁸⁹ For the tetradrachm issue see Bauslaugh, *Posthumous Chian Alexanders*, p. 29, Series 58, 68-174.

³⁹⁰ The dichalkon of Series 18 is Maurogordato, type 83 (moneyers included ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜ[ΑΧΟΣ], ΑΘΗΝΑΓ[ΟΡΑΣ], ΗΡΟΚΡΑΤ[ΗΣ], ΦΑΙΝΟΜ[ΕΝΟΣ]). The chalkous of Series 18 is Maurogordato 78 (moneyers included ΑΘΗΝΑ[ΙΟΣ], ΑΜΑΝΟ[Σ], ΗΓΗΜ[ΩΝ], ...ΟΝΤΙΟΣ. Note that the second of these issues is lost today and the fourth is a misreading).

³⁹¹ Compare the die of the coin illustrated in Pl. XIII, fig. 17 with coin illustrated in Pl. XIV, fig. 20

³⁹² Varoucha, 'Acquisitions du Musée Numismatique d'Athènes', BCH 1962 (86), p. 427, no. 6. An illustration of the Chian coin is found in Pl. XI, no. 17

³⁹³ Varoucha, *ibid*, nos. 2-9. I was unable to study the coins in Athens since they were in storage; however Varoucha published the weights and illustrations of the coins. W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum, London, 1886*, 'Thera', p. 132, nos 2-4, Apollo/lyre.

³⁹⁴ This is implied by Varoucha who lists these coins (of Thera and Chios) together and numbers them successively with details and illustrations, but refers briefly to the discovery of other ancient coins in this village acquired by the Athens Numismatic Museum alongside the above coins. It is likely that the latter coins were stray finds and therefore not of particular interest.

centuries BC (Wroth, 'Thera', p. 132) which is not particularly helpful in dating with accuracy issues of Series 18 but is seen as further evidence against a date for the Series as late as the 1st century BC.

A dichalkon of the ΠΙΝΔΑΡΟΣ issue (fig. 11) was found during an excavation of the ancient city of Rhodes (Rhodes Archaeological Museum, acc. no. 1720, unpublished). This discovery is of little value for the numismatic discussion here but bears significance on the Chian economy at the time which is analyzed in the relevant chapter on the economy.

4. Epigraphic evidence: Two of the Chian representatives to the Delphic Amphictiony between the years c 250-180 BC bear names or patronymics that are also found on issues of Series 18; these are exclusively issues of the chalkous denomination. ΦΑΙΝΟΜΕΝΟΣ is the first such name and it was borne by the father of a representative sometime between 202-190 BC.³⁹⁵ The name is common at Chios, but very rare anywhere else in Greece.³⁹⁶ It is found in a dedicatory inscription honouring Artemis sometime in the 3rd century BC³⁹⁷, and three different individuals of this name were enrolled as members of the ΤΟΤΕΙΑΔΕΣ faction recorded in the inscription for this faction dating to the 2nd century BC.³⁹⁸ From this evidence it is clear that the name was particularly popular at Chios during the 3rd-2nd centuries BC which would agree with the proposed period for the coin issue bearing the name.

³⁹⁵ Father of ΕΡΜΟΚΛΗΣ; the inscription is published in F. Delphi III, 3, 223 B and discussed by Derow-Forrest, 1982, pp. 91-2; Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 439, no. 5. His tenure is dated between 202 and 190 BC. On this individual see also Walbank, *Commentary on Polybius ii*, 1967, p. 504, for a possible link to events of the 2nd Macedonian War. A reference to this individual is also included in the discussion of the historical background, p. 28, of the present study. I would like to acknowledge Professor Sarikakis for information on the latter reference.

³⁹⁶ It is not included in any entries of Fraser-Mathews, *Lexicon*.

³⁹⁷ ΦΑΙΝΟΜΕΝΟΣ son of ΑΓΓΕΛΗΣ; SGDI 5668; Forrest, 1963, p. 60, no 12; SEG 22, (1967), no. 516; Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 439, no. 11. Dated by the latter in the 3rd century.

³⁹⁸ [ΦΑΙΝ]ΟΜΕΝ[ΟΣ] son of [ΑΔΕΙ]ΜΑΝΤ[ΙΟΣ]. Forrest, 1960, 184 D; Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 439, no. 12. ΦΑΙΝΟΜΕΝΟΣ son of ΦΑΙΝΟΜΕΝΟΣ adopted son of ΑΘΗΝΗΣ. Forrest, 1960, pp. 183-4, C, col. II, 49-51; Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 440, no. 14. [ΦΑΙ]ΝΟΜ[ΕΝΟΣ] son of ΦΗΣΙΝΟΣ. Forrest, 1960, pp. 183-4 C, col. II, 45-6; Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 440, no. 15

A Chian of the name ΔΙΔΥΜΑΡΧΟΣ is recorded as the representative for the year 227 BC and this may also be the name appearing on a chalkous of Series 18 and dating close to the period of the tenure of this representative at Delphi. Since the name on the coin ends with the letter M another reading of the name may be ΔΙΔΥΜΟΣ; in view of the fact that this name is not known at Chios a restoration to ΔΙΔΥΜΑΡΧΟΣ is proposed since the latter is known at Chios at the time.

The name ΠΙΝΔΑΡΟΣ is found in an issue of this series and a Chian inscription. It belonged to an individual subscribing money for the repairing of the city walls and appears in one of the relevant inscribed name catalogues that I mentioned in Series 17.³⁹⁹ As we saw the proposed date for the inscriptions relating to this event is not far from that proposed for Series 18 (c. 200 BC). The same name also belonged to two different Chians residing at Delos during the second half of the 2nd century BC.⁴⁰⁰ The patronymic of one of these is also the same name probably showing that it belonged to one Chian family. Since the name is never found in a Chian inscription after the early 2nd century BC it may have belonged to one of the families of traders that took up residence at Delos sometime after 166 BC, following its declaration as a free trading centre, and remained there not returning to Chios.

³⁹⁹ ΠΙΝΔΑΡΟΣ son of ΙΠΠΙΑΣ. Forrest, 1963, no. 578, Col. II, line 12; Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 376, no. 103

⁴⁰⁰ The first one is ΠΙΝΔΑΡΟΣ father of ΜΕΓΙΣΤΗ, a Chian buried at Delos whose engraved tombstone is located today in the Pere Lachaise cemetery of Paris (!) and first published by A. Conze SAWW 98, 1881, p. 373; Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 376, no. 100, with a date after c 166 BC. The second one ΠΙΝΔΑΡΟΣ son of ΠΙΝΔΑΡΟΣ a young athlete commemorated in a honorary inscription, first published in *Delos I*, 1924, pp. 5-6; Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 376, no. 104, where it is dated 126/5 or 123/4 BC. In both cases the individuals are clearly identified in the inscriptions as Chians.

SERIES 18 c 200 BC

Dichalkon

Obv.: Sphinx seated l., bunch of grapes in front; dotted circle round type.
Rev.: amphora in centre, moneyer's name r. and ethnic l. No reverse mint symbol

Moneyer: ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ [M. 78]

London:

B. M.:
no. 914; 1.53g, 5; ΑΘΗΝ[ΑΙΟΣ]. **fig. 1**

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:
no. 1633. O. N. Bey coll., acq. in 1905; 1.80g, 12; ΑΘΗΝΑ[ΙΟΣ]. **fig. 2**

Vienna

K. M.:
no. 17. 926; 0.95g. 11; ΑΘΗΝΑ[ΙΟΣ]. **fig. 3**

Moneyer: ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜ[...]. [M. 83]

Berlin

M. K.:
P. O. 1875; 1.75g, 11; ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜ. **fig. 4**

Moneyer: ΗΓΗΜΩΝ [M. 75 or 78]

London

B. M.:
no. 909; 1.74. 6; ΗΓΗΜΩΝ]. **Pl. XIV, fig. 5**

Athens

N. M.:
Kanell. coll. 1914. KG' no. 3; 1.50g, 9; ΗΓΗΜΩΝ]. **fig. 6**

Berlin

M. K.:
no. 153 / 1919; 1.80g, 3; ΗΓΗΜΩΝ]. **fig. 7**

Moneyer: ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΤΟΣ. The issue of this moneyer in bronze was not included by Maurogordato

London

B. M.:
no. 921; 1.99g, 12; [Η]ΡΑΚΛΕΙΤ[ΟΣ]. **fig. 8**

Moneyer: ΦΑΙΝΟΜ[ΕΝΟΣ] [M. 83]

Berlin

K. M.:
I. B. 1928; 1.72g, 11; ΗΡΟΚΡΑ[ΤΗΣ]. **fig. 9**
P. O. 1875; 0.96g, 11; ΗΡΟΚΡΑ[ΤΗΣ]. **fig. 10**

Moneyer: ΠΙΝΔΑ[ΡΟΣ]. Issues of this moneyer were not included by Maurogordato

Rhodes

A. M.:

no. 1175; weight not recorded. 11: ΠΙΝΔΑ[ΡΟΣ]. **fig. 11**

Cambridge:

F. M.:

G. c., Chios no. 7; 18.92. 12: [Π]ΙΝΔΑ[ΡΟΣ] . **fig. 12**

Athens

Sarikakis coll.:

weight and die axis not recorded: ΠΙΝΔΑ[ΡΟΣ]

Moneyer: ΦΑΙΝΟΜ[ΕΝΟΣ] [M. 83]

London

B. M.:

no. 928, Weber coll. no. 6274; 1.37g. 11; ΦΑΙΝΟ[ΜΕΝ]. **fig. 13**

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:

no. 1634, O. N. B. coll., acq. in 1905}; 2.05g, 9; ΦΑΙΝΟΜ

Berlin

M. K.:

L. 1906; 1.94g. 11; ΦΑΙΝΟΜ. **fig. 14**

Chalkous

same types as above

Moneyer: ΦΑΙΝΟ[ΜΕΝΟΣ]

Paris

B. N.:

no. 3153; 0.68g, 5; ΦΑΙΝΟ... . **fig. 15**

Moneyer: ΓΛΑ[ΥΚΟΣ] not known to Maurogordato

Oxford

A. M.:

Milne 1924, ex Nikolaides, Smyrna; 0.45g, 6. **fig. 16**

Athens

N. M.:

Found at Thera: 9

Chios

K. L.:

weight not recorded. **fig. 17**

Moneyer: ΑΙΔΥΜ[...]

London

K. c.:

no. 546; 0.77g, 7; $\Delta\text{I}\Delta\text{Y}$. **fig. 18**

Vienna

I. N.:

0.50g, 6; $\Delta\text{I}\Delta\text{YM}$. **fig. 19**

Munich

M. K.:

0.63g, 9; $\Delta\text{I}\Delta\text{Y}$. **fig. 20**

Moneyer: $\text{A}\Theta\text{H}[\text{N}\text{A}\text{I}\text{O}\Sigma]$

London

B. M.:

9, 1.50g;

Athens

N. M.:

0.80g. ; $\text{A}\Theta\text{H}[\text{N}\text{A}\text{I}\text{O}\Sigma]$

Munz zentrum, Auktion 88, Sept. 1995

no. 171, 0.75g, $\text{A}\Theta\text{H}[\text{N}\text{A}\text{I}\text{O}\Sigma]$. **fig. 21**

Moneyer: $\Pi\text{I}\text{N}\Delta[\text{A}\text{P}\text{O}\Sigma]$

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:

no. 1553. Rollin coll.; 1.03g, 6; $\Pi\text{I}\text{N}\Delta[\text{A}\text{P}\text{O}\Sigma]$. **fig. 22**

Group of sphinx/thyrsos

Moneyer: $\text{A}\Theta\text{H}$:

London

B. M.:

1.46g, 9. **fig. 1**

Moneyer: $\text{H}\Gamma\text{H}$

London:

B. M.:

Chester beq. 1.20g, 5. **fig. 2**

Moneyer: $\text{E}\Sigma\text{T}\text{I}[\text{A}\text{I}\text{O}\Sigma]$

London:

B. M.:

860; 0.97, 6. **fig. 3**

II. 8. DRACHMS ON THE REDUCED ATTIC STANDARD (Pls. XV-XXII)

1. Discussion of the standard: Throughout the 2nd and early 1st century BC Chios struck regularly drachms bearing its traditional civic types, the sphinx on the obverse and amphora on the reverse. The range of weights is 3.9-3.6 g, showing a considerable decline in the weight standard since the mid 3rd century BC when Series II on the Attic standard was issued (see pp. 104-15). This weight standard poses a problem of identification since it is exceptional for the Greek world during this period.⁴⁰¹ It is likely that the earliest drachms averaging in weight slightly less than 4.00g (see below, p. 215, issues of Group A with coins of an average weight 3.9g) may have been intended to pass as issues on the Attic standard, but later drachms are struck on an even lighter weight, averaging approximately 3.70g,⁴⁰² suggesting that the standard would have been different to the Attic. Though occasionally described in publications as drachms of Attic weight,⁴⁰³ I consider that these issues are more accurately termed as 'reduced Attic' drachms. This way we may distinguish them from similar earlier drachms (Attic drachms of Series I-II) that were struck on the full weight of this standard.

Only one other contemporary mint, that of Smyrna, is known to have struck regularly issues of the drachm denomination on the same standard as Chios.⁴⁰⁴ The close proximity of

⁴⁰¹ Greek mints producing large quantities of silver coinage during the 2nd century BC were either using the full Attic standard of 4.3g or more localised standards such as the 'Ptolemaic' at Egypt, based on a drachm weighing 3.55g, and the 'cistophoric' at Asia Minor -known at Rhodes as 'plinthophoric'- with a drachm weighing 3.15g; from Morkholm, 1991, p. 9, table I, 'Eastern Hellenistic Coin Standards'. It may be noted that the final coinage of Perseus, last king of Macedonia (172-168 BC), was struck on the 'reduced' Attic standard based on the tetradrachm weighing 15.5g. However the adoption of this standard at Macedonia was almost certainly a temporary measure to conserve silver in anticipation of war with Rome (3rd Macedonian War), see C. Howgego, *Ancient History from Coins*, (London, 1995), p. 114.

⁴⁰² This is the average weight of issues in the later groups of this drachm (Groups D, E, F) discussed, pp. 247-72

⁴⁰³ Maurogordato, 1916, p. 347, who also noted the low weight of some coins but failed to point out the fact that these issues were not struck on the (full) Attic standard but on a lighter variation of this weight standard.

⁴⁰⁴ The bulk of Smyrna's single drachm issues dating in the 2nd century BC are of the 'reduced' Attic weight, see G. Milne, 'The Silver coinage of Smyrna', NC 14. (1914), pp. 273-298; Idem, 'Silver drachma of Smyrna', NC 5th series I, (1921), pp. 143-4. It may be noted that the tetradrachms struck by Smyrna during the same period were on the full Attic weight. Teos may also have been using this standard since it struck some rare hemidrachms

the two cities, and the fact that these coinages bore civic types and appear to have circulated only locally, suggests that the use of an identical standard may not have been coincidental. As we saw in the historical background (p. 32) during this period both Smyrna and Chios made considerable territorial gains at the Peace of Apamea (189 BC) and secured their freedom and tax immunity from foreign powers; the cities are likely to have been facing the same challenges, a factor bringing them into closer contact than any time before. The adoption of this unusual standard by the mints at Smyrna and Chios may therefore have been dictated by similar conditions and may even reflect a common monetary policy.

Alongside drachms on the 'reduced' Attic standard Chios also struck a single fractional silver denomination on the same standard; its weight shows it to be a third of the drachm and therefore of a value of two obols. This is the only known silver fraction of the drachm to be issued by Chios after the Classical period and appears to have been struck during a limited period (see below).

Chios continued striking Alexander type tetradrachms down to c 160 BC (Bauslaugh, Period 3, c. 210-190 BC and Period 4, c 190-160 BC), and though this coinage was still theoretically on the Attic standard, a large number of issues dating to the 2nd century BC, weigh considerably less than 17.50g, the weight of the tetradrachm on the Attic standard. These lighter tetradrachms seem to agree with the standard used for the drachms and the diobols belonging to the series under discussion.⁴⁰⁵ Both Alexander and civic type issues would have circulated together and the lowering of the weight of the tetradrachm seems to

on the reduced Attic standard; Kinns, 1980, pp. 221-3 and pp. 519-20, 'Teos' AR VII, who proposed a date of issue in c 204-190 BC and suggested that the standard used for these issues was the reduced Attic instead of the 'Rhodian' proposed in the past by the editors of BMC. I have been unable to locate any other mint that struck one drachm coins on the same standard as Smyrna and Chios. Though it is true that some mints using the Attic weight occasionally struck the odd coin of 4.00g weight, this does not seem to have been done with the consistency of Smyrna and Chios where the great majority of drachms weigh under 4.00g.

⁴⁰⁵ Many of the Chian Alexander type full name tetradrachms (Bauslaugh, Period 4) weigh as little as 16.00g, or even less, see Bauslaugh, *Posthumous Chian Alexanders*, pp. 29-33, with catalogue of coins of this type. Such light weight tetradrachms are very rare in earlier periods, and fit with the standard of a drachm of 4.00g.

have been a deliberate policy of striking silver coinages on the same light weight standard and thus conserving silver during a period when its price is known to have been quite high.⁴⁰⁶

2. General aspects of the drachms: The names of 34 moneyers are recorded on issues of this series, most of which are exceptionally rare and known from less than five specimens each. Only two issues, signed by the moneyers ΖΗΝΙΣ and ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ, may be seen as relatively common. Collectively, however, issues of this series constitute the bulk of all known silver civic type drachms struck at Chios during the Hellenistic and early Roman periods, that are found in the major private and public collections of ancient Greek coins. This is due to the multiplicity of individual moneyers involved in the production of coinage and the large number of coins that has survived from the issue of ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ, and to a lesser extent of ΖΗΝΙΣ.

The issues show many different styles reflecting the fact that the series was struck over a long period of more than a century (see below). However typological developments are limited to the use of mint symbols in the reverse type of a few issues. Earlier issues show the flan of the reverse decorated with a vine wreath while later ones replace this by a circle composed of small dots. It has been possible to distinguish groups of contemporary issues on the basis of shared obverse dies, stylistic similarities, and hoard evidence. These groups are dated individually in the study on the evidence which is presented and discussed below separately for each group.

The evidence shows that the earliest drachms and the diobols were first struck alongside the final issues of Alexander type tetradrachms (see below, drachms of Groups A-

⁴⁰⁶ Price, 1993, p. 44, discusses a general reduction in the weight of Alexander type tetradrachms at most mints during the 3rd century BC. By the early 2nd century BC some issues were struck at 17.00g or even less, though mints at Ionia seem to have maintained most issues at 17.00g. However in the case of Chios the reduction in the weight was larger than that of the rest of Ionia and this lighter standard was retained for all issues, and not only for a few. Furthermore, Chios also used this standard in striking its one drachm denomination bearing civic types. For an increase in the price of silver bullion at the time; see Price, *ibid*.

C). After the cessation of Alexander type coinage, Chios produced no further tetradrachms leaving drachms of this series as the largest struck silver denomination.⁴⁰⁷ The Chian mint did not participate in the issue of *stephanophorus* tetradrachms that were struck in the period c. 170-140 BC by a number of cities of Asia Minor, especially those of Ionia, on the Attic standard and showing local civic types. Kinns (1987, pp. 106-7) considers that the issuing cities were controlled by the kingdom of Pergamum, and that the issue of tetradrachms on the Attic standard served primarily the interests of Pergamum, rather than those of the local cities.⁴⁰⁸ If this were so, it would seem that the absence of similar issues by the Chian mint is not so much a sign of local financial difficulties at the time, but an indication that the island was not under Pergamene control. This in its turn suggests that Chios may have retained a large degree of independence during the first half of the 2nd century BC, especially since the Peace at Apamea in 188 BC left a power vacuum in the Eastern Mediterranean with Rome lurking in the background; for a discussion of the possible political situation at Chios after Apamea, see the historical background, pp. 34-35.

3. Discussion of the traditional chronology: Most of the drachms of the reduced Attic standard were placed by Maurogordato in the period 190-87 BC (1916, Period IX, pp. 297-353) with a few issues in c. 87-30 BC. The limits of his main chronology for the drachms coincide with two major events in the island's history, the Antiochic War (192-189 BC) and 1st Mithridatic War (88-85 BC). Both wars seriously affected Chios and would also have had repercussions on the coinage struck locally. As we will see below in the discussion of the

⁴⁰⁷ It is reasonable to assume that the Chians may have continued using for a while the local Alexander type tetradrachms already in circulation; however for newly struck tetradrachms they would have to import from abroad an aspect which is discussed in the chapter on the economy, p. 650.

⁴⁰⁸ However it may be noted that some of the cities that struck *stephanefori*, for example Heracleia and Smyrna, were declared free at the peace at Apamea. Howego, 1995, p. 55, considers that the Attalids of Pergamum may have used these mints after coming to an agreement with the local authorities, and without infringing upon their rights as free cities.

individual groups comprising this drachm series, events of the period would have had some effect on the striking of individual issues and on the amount of the coinage produced. For example, the rebuilding of the city walls on the eve of the 2nd Macedonian War and Chian participation in the wars against Philip V and Antiochus III, would have forced the island to coin large quantities of silver. However it is unreliable to attribute the introduction of this series to these historical events. Most individual issues were on a small scale, and state expenditures -of a regular or exceptional nature- during this period would have continued to be covered mostly by emissions of Alexander type tetradrachms. The reliance on recorded historical events to date the introduction of a series or its cessation were concepts dominating numismatic scholarship during the early part of the century when Maurogordato was conducting his research. This approach has flaws and Maurogordato's chronology needs to be examined critically.

The editors of BMC dated the earliest of the Alexander type coinage in Ionia after the battle of Magnesia (190 BC) when the cities of this region were freed from Seleucid rule. Maurogordato considered that this date also marked the introduction of this type of coinage by the mint of Chios.⁴⁰⁹ Furthermore he proposed a direct link between the striking of the earliest of the Chian Alexander type coinage and that of the first local civic type drachms on the 'Attic' standard following Attic Series I (type 57a of Maurogordato's study). However the accumulative evidence overwhelmingly shows that Maurogordato's proposed date for the Alexander tetradrachms and civic drachms is wrong. First of all, as we saw in the historical background, pp. 32-33, there is no evidence that Chios was ever under Seleucid control and the island's mint is now established as having produced during the 3rd century BC its own

⁴⁰⁹ He based this on BMC, *Ionia*, 'Introduction', p. xlvi, this date was considered on the assumption that the Seleucids would not have allowed any cities under their rule to issue coinage. Maurogordato, 1916, p. 299, adopted this theory and suggested that Chios could not have struck any tetradrachms earlier than this date.

silver coinage of both civic and Alexander types. As a result, the date of c 190 BC for the introduction of Alexander type tetradrachms at Chios is no longer acceptable,⁴¹⁰ and, consequently, this also applies for Maurogordato's proposed date for the introduction of civic type drachms at Chios.

Maurogordato divided the drachms series into three large groups and proposed a relative sequence for the issues based exclusively on stylistic developments (1916, pp. 299-304).⁴¹¹ However he failed to discuss basic elements of the coinage, such as the pattern of issues within the individual groups, fluctuations of the standard, links to foreign coinages etc. There also seems to have been no attempt on his part to use the coinage as a likely source of information on the state of Chios and its economy at the time. His work was restricted to establishing links between the different drachm groups and other Chian issues of silver or bronze on stylistic criteria and the sharing of common moneyers' names. The first drachm group (type 61) is recorded as contemporary with issues of Alexander type tetradrachms featuring monograms (Bauslaugh, Periods 1-3), while the second drachm group (type 63a) linked with later tetradrachms bearing the full name of the moneyer (Bauslaugh, Period 4). Both drachm groups are also considered as contemporary with bronze issues of his Group 62a (Series 17 in this study). Drachms in his third group (Maurogordato, type 66 a, β, γ, δ) are placed chronologically after the production of local tetradrachms had ceased and Maurogordato considers them to be contemporary with bronze issues 67 (Series 19).

As I show below, these links are plausible and of great help in dating the drachms, since issues of Alexander type tetradrachms have already been dated with some accuracy by Bauslaugh and Price (I have already referred in the chapter on the Attic drachms of Series I, p.

⁴¹⁰ Note also that this proposed date no longer applies for the issue of most other Alexander type issues struck in Ionia since recent numismatic studies have dated these as early as the late 4th century BC.

⁴¹¹ I examine in detail Maurogordato's subdivision of the issues and chronological sequence, in the relevant section discussing the individual groups.

82, to the importance of these works in dating the Alexander type issues of Chios). However as we saw above, the proposed absolute dates for the Chian Alexander type issues applied by Maurogordato for dating the introduction of the civic drachms were considered as valid at his time, but are no longer acceptable. As a result, this would also apply for the dates he proposed for the civic drachms in this series. His internal subdivision of the issues into smaller groups can be seen, for the most part, to be unreliable since it was based exclusively on stylistic criteria. Most issues were classified by him in wrong groups and some of these groups have been placed chronologically to periods much later than the evidence shows. This applies in particular to all drachms of this series that he dated after c 87 BC, when it seems that their issue ceased (see below). Finally we may also note that since the time Maurogordato's study was published, a large number of other issues of this type has become known, most of which are published for the first time in this study.

Different types of evidence make it possible to re-arrange the groups in a reliable relative sequence and also suggest dates as accurate as possible. The evidence includes hoards, especially for issues struck towards the middle and end of the proposed period, the association of the earlier drachms with Alexander type Chian tetradrachms (see above) and bronze issues of Series 18,⁴¹² and those of later drachms with issues belonging to Series 19. Epigraphic evidence has also been taken into consideration, though it must be noted that inscriptions are less plentiful during the period when this series was struck than for the earlier Hellenistic period. Issues that were either wrongly dated or unknown to Maurogordato have also been incorporated into the sequence.

The period between the early 2nd and early 1st centuries BC is generally considered as one of prosperity for Chios even though, as I discuss in the chapter on the economy, pp.

⁴¹² As I discuss above Series 18 was wrongly dated by Maurogordato to the 1st century BC, instead of the early 2nd century BC.

642-3, we seem to lack any literary and archaeological evidence to support this idea. The coinage under consideration constitutes the only available material evidence on Chios which is dated with certainty to this period and its study could therefore provide tangible evidence on the state of the local economy between the time of the Apamea treaty (188 BC) and the outbreak of the 1st Mithridatic War (89 BC).

4. Hoards as evidence for the chronology of the Reduced Attic drachms: The majority of coins held in public and private collections and coin dealers' stocks seem to originate from hoards, but only two of these have been properly recorded and studied. The first of these hoards originates from Çesme (Erythrae), on the coast of Asia Minor opposite Chios, and consisted of a large number of Athenian *New style* tetradrachms, *cistophoric* tetradrachms of various mints, and fifteen drachms of Chios of the reduced Attic weight.⁴¹³ The second hoard was found on Chios, in the region of 'Gridia', and included fourteen Chian drachms, an Athenian *New Style* tetradrachm, two *cistophoric* tetradrachms of Pergamum, and a Roman Republican denarius.⁴¹⁴ The hoards are composed of very similar coins from different monetary systems and spanning close to a century from the middle of the 2nd century BC to the 70's BC. They seem to have been formed over the same period and both were probably concealed during the 70's BC.⁴¹⁵

⁴¹³ F. S. Kleiner, 'The Giresun hoard', ANSMN 19, (1974), pp. 3-25, pp. 19-23.

⁴¹⁴ For the publication of the Çesme hoard, see H. Papageorgiadou, 'Εύρημα Γριδιών Χίου' ('A discovery at Gridia, Chios'), Annals of Athens, (1986), pp. 184-190

⁴¹⁵ The 'Gridia' hoard included a *cistophoric* tetradrachm of Pergamum dated c 76 BC, which places chronologically the deposition of the hoard shortly after that date. The 'Çesme' hoard also included four *cistophoric* tetradrachms of the 70s BC suggesting that it may have been deposited in the period c 75-70 BC.

The composition of these hoards follows the same pattern as that of other hoards dating to the 1st Mithridatic War or shortly afterwards.⁴¹⁶ It is clear that the bulk of coins in both hoards was amassed over brief and consecutive periods during the war, with some later additions. This led Kleiner (pp. 22-23) to suggest that the 'Çesme' hoard may have been formed over a number of years coinciding with different stages in the 1st Mithridatic War. On this evidence he argues that the Chian material may represent a smaller hoard that was initially formed at the time of the siege of Chios by forces of Mithridates VI in 86 BC.⁴¹⁷ Following this event the coins were added to a larger hoard that was already in existence, while the cistophoric tetradrachms were the last to be included (Kleiner, 1974, p. 23). Kleiner's theory suggests that the 'Çesme' hoard may represent the growing fortune of a Pontic soldier or camp-follower taking part in the different campaigns of this war and that the Chian coins were seized as booty from Chios after the city's capture in 86 BC.⁴¹⁸

Papageorgiadou in her study of the 'Gridia' hoard avoids making a direct link between the formation of the hoard and the Pontic siege of Chios, but dates the inclusion of the Chian coinage in the decades of 80s-70s BC and attributes its formation and deposit in general to the instability caused by the Mithridatic wars (Papageorgiadou, 'Gridia Hoard', p. 187). Since the hoard was found locally on Chios it is unlikely that it may have been concealed there in its final form by a Pontic soldier, during the occupation of 86-85 BC, since the cistophori date to the 70s BC and were certainly added to the hoard after the troops of Mithridates troops abandoned Chios in 85-84 BC. However it is also possible that the Chian element of this

⁴¹⁶ For hoards dating to the 1st Mithridatic War see Kleiner, 'Çesme Hoard', pp. 18-19, who also considers that the inclusion in hoards of coins from different monetary systems may be attributed to the extraordinary circumstances of the war.

⁴¹⁷ For an outline of events of the 1st Mithridatic War affecting Chios, see the chapter in the historical background, pp. 36-38.

⁴¹⁸ See Kleiner, *ibid.*, with his comment that Mithridates' army may have brought with them to Asia Minor the Athenian tetradrachms found in the 'Çesme' and other contemporary hoard. The Greek mainland witnessed much of the fighting between the Romans and this army during the 1st Mithridatic war; Athens was one of the cities worst hit, suffering a Roman siege in 86 BC.

hoard may have been hoarded at the time when Chios fell to the Pontic forces and that the cistophori were later additions.⁴¹⁹ This is suggested by the fact that the great majority of Chian coins in both the Gridia and the Cesme hoards belong to the same issue (see below).

It would seem from the above studies that the Chian drachms comprising part of the hoards would date to the same period as the rest of the coins, i.e. between the mid 2nd century and the 70s BC. However the fact that the bulk of these drachms originate from a single issue, signed by the moneyer ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ,⁴²⁰ clearly demonstrates that this element of the hoards represents currency circulating at a given time, rather than coins amassed over a long period (Kleiner, 'Cesme Hoard', pp. 22-23). Most coins of this issue have seen little or no circulation, suggesting that they may have been among the very latest coins to be included in the hoards and their issue may not have been much earlier than the 70s BC, the latest dated coins in the hoards (the cistophoric tetradrachms).

Kleiner's plausible date for the formation of the Chian element in the Cesme hoard at the time of the siege of Chios by Zenobius -the same would also apply for the Chian coins of the Gridia hoard- suggests a date for issues signed by ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ of about 86 BC. This proposed date for the ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ issue makes it is possible to consider approximately the period when the rest of the Chian drachms present in the hoards were struck. The Chian element of the hoards is likely to have been composed of coins that were circulating simultaneously and would therefore have included some earlier issues alongside those that are contemporary with the period when the coinage from this mint was being amassed and deposited. A number of the Athenian tetradrachms are dated as far back as the mid 2nd century BC and by comparing the state of preservation of drachms of different issues it is possible to get some indication of how

⁴¹⁹ This hoard was probably initially concealed in 86 BC and then re-discovered after c 84 BC either by its original owner returning home or some other Chian following the end of the Pontic occupation.

⁴²⁰ Ten out of fifteen Chian drachms in the 'Çesme' hoard and nine out of fourteen in the 'Gridia' hoard.

long the coins may have been in circulation prior to the formation of the hoards. This is useful in suggesting a likely period of issue and circulation of individual issues of this series that are represented in the hoards, and as such this element is also included and discussed below in the sections on the individual drachm groups.

A number of other known drachms from this series are likely to have derived from unpublished hoards. This is suggested by certain features of the coins that I have observed, such as an identical surface patina or similar signs of circulation for coins belonging to the same collection and which were acquired together from a single source. None of these groups are known to have included any coins foreign to Chios, and therefore cannot be dated independently from the rest of the evidence included in this study. They are however important in affording some evidence on the relative succession and the circulation pattern of the different drachms.

The hoards offer us a good representation of a wide spectrum of coins issued between c 160 BC and c 80 BC and I have chosen this as a reliable basis for arranging chronologically the individual groups. I have also collected and discuss below in the group sections other types of evidence that are relevant in dating with some accuracy the issues and which I have already referred.

5. Chian drachms in Delian inscriptions; possible evidence for chronology?: Sums

expressed in drachms of Chios are recorded in a number of entries of the accounts of the Delian treasury.⁴²¹ Two drachms are found in the earliest of these dating to 207 BC and the

⁴²¹ J. R. Jones, 'The Delian Inscriptions', ANSMN 17, (1971), 'Chian drachms', p. 129-30, f. 15. The Chian drachms are recorded as the following: Two drachms in 367 line 17, 396 Ba 78, 442 B 190, 443Bb 115, 444 B33. A single drachm in 1422 line 6, 1429B1121, 1450A206. See also J. R. Jones, 1993, pp. 186-7, ID 396, no. 257, Face B, line 78, from the inventory of the Artemisium for the year 194 BC; pp. 190-1, ID 442, no. 260, Face B, line 192, from the inventory of the temple of Artemis for the year 179 BC; pp. 192-3, ID 443, no. 261, Face B, fragm. b, line 115, from the inventory of the Artemisium for the year 178 BC; pp. 194-5, ID 444, no. 262. Face B, line 35, from the inventory of the temple of Artemis for the year 177 BC; pp. 204-5, ID 1422, no. 271,

same amount is included in entries for the years 194, 179, 178, and 177 BC. As all of these entries come from the temple of Artemis they appear to represent the same two drachms recorded in each year's account rather than new additions. A Chian drachm is also included in several entries of accounts held at the temple of Apollo between 156 and 139 BC. This almost certainly would have been a different drachm to those recorded at the temple of Artemis.

The drachms are not likely to belong to the Classical period, a possibility considered by Jones (1971, pp. 129-130) since such coinage had long ceased circulating by the end of the 3rd century BC when the earliest entry appears; they would represent drachms of Chios from the Hellenistic period. However these would not have been local Alexander type issues, in which case they would have been recorded in the inscriptions as *Alexander* drachms. It would seem that the drachms were entered in the accounts as *Chian* because they would have depicted both the ethnic name and civic types of that city. If this is the case then the two drachms included in the earliest entry dating to 207 BC may be slightly early to belong to this series on the reduced Attic weight. They probably belong to Chian Attic weight drachms of Series I or II, both of which, as we saw, were struck during the 3rd century BC. However the drachm included in the entries of 156-138 BC is more likely to belong to an issue of the first half of the 2nd century BC and on the reduced Attic weight (Group A-C, see pp. 215-46).

Even though we cannot be certain of the type of Chian coinage referred in the Delian temple entries this evidence suggests that Chios would have already been striking its own drachm coinage before the end of the 3rd century BC.

line 6, fragment of account soon after 156 BC; pp. 206-7, ID 1429, no. 273, Face B, col. II, line 21, from the inventory of the temple of Apollo sometime in 156-3 BC; pp. 216-7, ID 1443, no. 279, Face A, col. II, line 62, from the inventory of the temple of Apollo sometime in 145-2 BC; pp. 224-5, ID 140, no. 283, Face A, line 206, inventory of the temple of Apollo? 140-139 BC.

Even though we cannot be certain of the type of Chian coinage referred in the Delian temple entries this evidence suggests that Chios would have already been striking its own drachm coinage before the end of the 3rd century BC.

die engraver and the same secondary moneyer or official, who is represented by the thyrsus symbol, may have been in charge of these issues.

The reverse types of the drachms in this group is enclosed in a vine wreath bound three times at the end with fillets; this particular detail is missing from the decorative wreaths on issues of later groups and provides us with further evidence on the contemporaneity of these drachms.

Of particular importance is the appearance of the ethnic legend ΧΙΩΝ (in the genitive) on the unique coin of ΓΛΑΥΚΟΣ. This seems to have wider significance which I discuss below.

A. 2. General aspects and proposed dating: Maurogordato classified issues of ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΣ, ΕΡΜΟΦΑΝΤΟΣ and ΜΗΤΑΣ in his group 66 b (1917, pp. 316), and that signed by ΓΛΑΥΚΟΣ in the period 84-30 BC;⁴²⁵ the ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ issue was not known to him. He suggested that the first three issues were among the latest to be produced in the series and dated them to the period c 133(?) - 87 BC, based on a proposed identification of the moneyer ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΣ -who signed an issue in this group- with a namesake in charge of a different and later drachm issue which Maurogordato (1917, 233, f.108) dated in the period c 84-30 BC.⁴²⁶ Obviously this proposed link between the two moneyers bearing in common the name ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΣ shows that Maurogordato considered that the issue of the earlier moneyer -and belonging to the series under discussion- would date towards the end of his proposed period; in other words it would have been struck closer to 87, rather than 133 BC.⁴²⁷

⁴²⁵ J. Maurogordato, 'Some Unpublished Greek Coins', NC 11 (1911), pp. 93-4; Idem, 1917, Group 76b, p. 222 and pp. 244-5.

⁴²⁶ Maurogordato distinguished two different groups of issues bearing the moneyer's name of ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΣ. He suggested that both were struck by the same moneyer but that the heavy weight issues -those included in the discussion here- were the first to be struck, followed later by the lighter issues. The latter are included in this study as part of the drachm series struck on the cistophoric standard (see below, pp. 372-6).

⁴²⁷ Maurogordato, 1917, p. 232, where he raises the point that ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΣ would have belonged to a group of moneyers issuing coinage, on two separate occasions, shortly before and after c 87 BC.

Maurogordato's argument (1916, p. 346) for linking the two different ΑΡΤΕΜΙΑΩΡΟΣ issues is based on an identical style shared between the obverse types of the two issues, and what he thought was the form of the name on the issue under consideration which he transcribes in two lines:

ΑΡΤΕΜΙΑΩΡΟ
Σ

Stylistically the rendering of the name legend in this way is a late development and Maurogordato seems to be correct in using this feature for dating purposes.⁴²⁸ We may note that the later issue bearing the name of ΑΡΤΕΜΙΑΩΡΟΣ indeed shows part of the name legend inscribed in a second line. However close study of coins from the earlier issue reveals that what Maurogordato perceived to be the letter Σ in the second line of the legend is in fact a control letter (κ?), while the final letter in the moneyer's name is still visible at the end of the legend.⁴²⁹ As this study has documented, the moneyer ΑΡΤΕΜΙΑΩΡΟΣ striking in the series under discussion is different to the namesake moneyer signing drachms during the 1st century BC. The only common feature in both issues is the style of the sphinx which is identical, but as I discuss below in the chapter on typology (pp. 569-70), it would seem that this may have copied from one issue to the other after a considerable gap in time. The weight, die axis, letter forms and the style of the reverse type are completely different for these issues showing that they would have belonged to different periods.

The evidence contradicts Maurogordato's chronological arrangement, and issues of this group (Group A in this study) far from being the latest in this series, were probably the earliest to be struck in the reduced Attic series. Types of these drachms are similar in style to those appearing in the final group of Series 17 (Group I), with a proposed date in the late 3rd

⁴²⁸ See issues of the 1st century BC showing this form for the moneyer's name in the legend and discussed in the chapter on issues of the 'reduced denarius' standard (p. 313) and the chapter on Series 20 (p. 330). In fact the later issue bearing the name of ΑΡΤΕΜΙΑΩΡΟΣ has the last three letters in the legend inscribed in the second line.

⁴²⁹ See illustrations, Pl. XV, figs. 2-4. The entire name of the moneyer appears in one line with the last letter visible on the wreath.

century BC. In particular the sphinx type which is typical of this drachm group is almost identical with a type found on several of these bronzes (compare the sphinx type of these drachms with that of bronzes of Series 17, Group I, illustrated in Pl. XII, figs. 9, 16). The drachms are also linked to Series 18 since the moneyer ΓΛΑΥΚΟΣ in charge of an issue of Series 18 may have been the same as the namesake moneyer who signed the drachm in this group. The style in both issues is identical and the name is also rare at Chios, suggesting that both issues were struck by the same moneyer (the drachm is illustrated in Pl. XV, fig. 5 and the bronze in Pl. XIV, fig. 16).

A different issue of Series 18 bearing the name of ΗΓΗΜΩΝ has a sphinx type that is identical to that present on drachms of ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΣ of this group (compare the types of the drachms illustrated in Pl. XV, figs. 2-4, to that of the bronze in Pl. XIV, fig. 5). The die engraver seems to have been the same producing dies for the drachm and the bronze issues, further showing that they were close in date.

Letter forms constitute another type of evidence on the date of issue for this drachm group. These issues use identical letter forms to those appearing in legends of the Alexander type tetradrachms of Bauslaugh Period 3, dating c 210-190 BC (Bauslaugh, *Posthumous Chian Alexanders*, Series nos 53-98, 54-100, 55-106). The letter *alpha* Α with the broken middle bar appears in legends of both these civic drachms and also a number of the above Alexander type tetradrachms. Some issues of both types of coinage also depict the letters *theta* Θ and *omicron* Ο rather similar in appearance to dots. These characteristic letter forms for *alpha*, *omicron* and *theta* are absent from Alexander type coinage after c 170 BC and we would expect this to apply also for the contemporary civic type drachms. In fact this appears to be the case, since such letter forms only occur in issues of the next group of drachms on the reduced Attic standard (Group B) and a few early issues of Group C; they disappear entirely

from coin legends of the rest of the issues in the series.⁴³⁰ The issue of ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ is the only one including the letter *pi* Π in a legend. This letter clearly shows both vertical bars of equal length, suggesting that the issue may have been produced after c 200 BC (see above, pp. 136-7).

Issues of ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ and ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΣ also bear control letters in the reverse type which are visible in the field to the right of the amphora.⁴³¹ The use of single letters in the types, possibly as control marks, seems to have been copied from the Alexander type tetradrachms and contemporary issues of Group I, Series 17, since the mint at Chios only used this practice once again on the next drachm group (Group B), and dropped it completely on all later civic coinages.

A date in the late 3rd century or the early 2nd century BC seems likely for this drachm group, on account of the stylistic similarities its issues share with the tetradrachms and bronze coins dating to that period ('Alexander' tetradrachms of Bauslaugh, Period 3 and Series 18). This proposed period coincides with the 2nd Macedonian War and the rebuilding of the city walls in c 202/1 BC -recorded in the 'Wall subscription lists' and the 'donations' of Attalus- and possibly with the war against Antiochus III (see the discussion in the historical background, pp. 28-32). These earliest drachms on the reduced Attic standard may be contemporary with the events recorded above but it would not seem likely that they were intended to cover the expenses of war or a major public project, such as the rebuilding of the city walls. Large expenses of this type would have been met through the issue of a large

⁴³⁰ The letter form A with the broken middle bar reappears in coin legends and inscriptions but in a later period, the early 1st century BC. The development of this letter form during the 1st century BC is discussed below in detail in the chapter on Series 20, p. 330. The use of dots in place of the letters *omicron* O and *theta* Θ is restricted to the late 3rd and the early/mid 2nd century BC, and never found again at Chios. Inscriptions of this period also use the above letter forms, see for example the inscription with donations of Attalus dating c 200 BC discussed in the historical background, p. 30.

⁴³¹ As we saw above, the control letter in the ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΣ issue was wrongly perceived by Maurogordato to be the final letter in the moneyer's name.

Alexander type tetradrachms, e.g. issues of Period 3 dating c 210-190 BC⁴³² and the civic drachms of Group A may have been struck as fractional denominations to these tetradrachms.

A. 3. Epigraphic evidence: An individual bearing the name and patronymic ΕΡΜΟΦΑΝΤΟΣ is listed in one of the inscriptions recording subscriptions for the rebuilding of the city walls.⁴³³ The name would have been particularly rare since it is not attested in any other known Chian inscription and the fact that it is shared by close relatives suggests that it would probably have been restricted to a single family. A link between the moneyer of this name in Group A and the above individual is postulated, especially considering that the proposed date of the issue of Group A bearing this name would probably coincide with the general period of the repairing of the city walls at Chios and inscriptions relating to this event.

⁴³² As suggested by Bauslaugh, *Posthumous Chian Alexanders*, pp. 28-29 and Price, 1991, p. 291; Crawford, 1985, p. 154, also associates some Alexander type Chian tetradrachms with this war, though without referring to specific issues.

⁴³³ Zolotas, 1908, 204, 207, l. 54-55; Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 162, no. 163 (father); no. 165 (son)

GROUP A c 200 BC

Av. weight of the group (7 coins weighed): 3.85g

Obv.: sphinx seated l. on line, bunch of grapes in front of its breast; dotted circle round the flan.

Rev.: amphora in the centre, name of moneyer to the r., and ethnic legend XIOΣ to the l.; symbol appears in the field l. of the ethnic legend or in break of the ethnic; all within a vine wreath tied thrice at the ends.

Moneyer: ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ; thyrsus symbol in the reverse type l. of the ethnic; letter Π in the reverse located to the r. of the base of the amphora. This drachm was not included by Maurogordato.

19.00 mm, weight and die axis not recorded; ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ. **fig. 1**

Moneyer: ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΣ; thyrsus symbol in the reverse type l. of the ethnic; letter K in the rev. type and to the r. of the base of the amphora. [M. 66b]

Two obverse and three reverse die.

av. weight of this issue: 3.9g

London

B. M.:

no. 853; 20.00 mm, 3.98g, 1; ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΣ, letter K in the rev. type. **fig. 2** Obv. Die 1, Rev. Die 1.*

no. 48; 17.00 mm, 3.75g, 1; ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΣ, indistinguishable letter in the rev. type. **fig. 3** Obv. Die 2, Rev. Die 2. *

Vienna

K. M.:

no. 17921; 19.00 mm; 3.95g, 12; ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΣ, letter K in the rev. type. **fig. 4** Obv. Die 1, Rev. Die 3.*

Moneyer: ΓΛΑΥΚΟΣ [M. 76b]

London

B. M.:

ex M. no. 854; 19.00 mm, 3.55g, 12; ΓΛΑΥΚΟΣ; the reverse type of this issue is different to the rest of the group and similar in the style of the wreath and letter forms to that of the following group (Group B); the ethnic legend is located r. of the amphora and is in the genitive, inscribed ΧΙΩΝ. **fig. 5 ***

Moneyer: ΕΡΜΟΦΑΝΤΟΣ; aplustre symbol in in the reverse to the l. of the moneyer's name. [M. 66b]

One obverse and one reverse die.

Paris

B. N.:

no. 3029; 18.00 mm, 3.88g, 12; ΕΡΜΟΦΑΝΤΟΣ. **fig. 6***

Naples

N. M.:

no. 8258; ΕΡΜΟΦΑΝΤΟΣ: Published by G. Fiorelli, *Catalogo del Museo Nazionale di Naples, Medagliere I: Monete Greche*, Naples, 1870, not illustrated.

Schlessinger auction catal. 4/2/35

no. 1300; 18.00 mm, 3.80g, die axis not recorded; ΕΡΜΟΦΑΝΤΟΣ. **fig. 7 ***

Henzen, Amsterdam, Auction April 1996

no. 54, ΕΡΜΟΦΑΝΤΟΣ. **fig. 8**

The following coin is a forgery :

London

B.M.:

19.00mm, 2.82g, 12: ΕΡΜΟΦΑΝΤΟΣ , plated bronze core; an ancient forgery. **fig. A**. Rev. Die 1

Moneyer: ΜΗΤΑΣ; ΧΙ-ΟΣ to the l.; the mint symbol on this issue, a star symbol, appears in the legend break [M. 66b]

Two obverse and three reverse dies.

London

B. M.:

no. 525; 19.00 mm, 3.32g, 11; ΜΗΤΑΣ. **fig. 9**. This coin is worn and chipped. Obv. Die 1, Rev. Die 1.

Paris

B. N.:

W. c. no. 3043; 20.00 mm, 3.70g, 12; ΜΗΤΑΣ. **fig. 10**. Obv. Die 2 (this die was used in the ΕΡΜΟΦΑΝΤΟΣ issue), Rev. Die 2.*

Berlin

M. K.:

F. 1873; 18.00 [17.00] mm, 3.82g, 12, ΜΗΤΑΣ. **fig. 11**. Obv. Die 2, Rev. Die 3.*

Moneyer: [Μ]ΗΤΡΟΦΑΝΗΣ; thyrsus symbol in the reverse type l. of the ethnic; letter K in the rev. type and to the r. of the base of the amphora. [issue not known to Maurogordato]

Turin

details still pending: a cast became recently available for study through the courtesy of Dr Hardwick.

Group B (Pl. XV, figs. 12-20)

B. 1. Issues and die studies: Four different issues, comprising a total number of nine coins have been recorded for this group, bearing the names of ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ (4 coins, figs. 12-15), ΜΕΝΕΚΡΑΤΗΣ (1 coin, fig. 16), ΠΑΤΑΚΑΙΩΝ (3 coins, figs.17-19) and ΦΑΝΗΣ (1 coin, fig. 20). The issues are closely linked since all of them were struck from three obverse dies that are stylistically very similar and present a picture of a homogenous group.⁴³⁴ Almost certainly they would have been struck over a brief period and a single artist probably produced the dies.

The first common die was used in all known coins of ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ and one of ΠΑΤΑΚΑΙΩΝ (fig. 18); the second common die in the unique coin of ΜΕΝΕΚΡΑΤΗΣ (fig. 16) and one coin of ΠΑΤΑΚΑΙΩΝ (fig. 17). The obverse dies of ΦΑΝΗΣ (fig. 20) and an issue of ΠΑΤΑΚΑΙΩΝ (fig. 19) were not used in any other known issue.

TABLE I

DIE LINKS OF GROUP B

Obverse die 1	ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ (figs. 12-15)	ΠΑΤΑΚΑΙΩΝ (fig. 18)
Obverse die 2	ΜΕΝΕΚΡΑΤΗΣ (fig. 16)	ΠΑΤΑΚΑΙΩΝ (fig. 17)
Obverse die 3	ΦΑΝΗΣ (fig. 20)	
Obverse die 4	ΠΑΤΑΚΑΙΩΝ (fig. 19)	

B. 2. General aspects and proposed dating: Maurogordato considered that the style of issues in this group date them in the 1st century BC (1917, p. 222, type no. 76a, discussed in pp. 242-4). However he also noted that certain features of these issues, such as weight, high

⁴³⁴ The existence of another die for this drachm group is suggested by a stamp on the handle of a Chian lagynos bearing a sphinx type (see below, p. 225). This sphinx is identical to that present on drachms of this group and is likely to have been produced from such a drachm. A study of the details of this stamp show that it has been struck from a different die than known for coins of this group.

relief, and letter forms, were unlike those of other drachms that he placed chronologically in the same period and could point to an earlier date of issue for this group (1917, pp. 242-3).⁴³⁵ Nevertheless Maurogordato dismissed this evidence and considered that the *degraded* (sic) style of these issues alone could help suggest a date of issue during c 84-30 BC, in line with what he perceived to be the general characteristics of that period's *numismatic art*.⁴³⁶

This supposed link of the style of the issues to a particular period is far from convincing and his proposed date for issues of Group B needs to be reexamined. First of all, as he himself stated, the average weight and the style of these drachms is unlike that of other drachms considered to be securely dated to the 1st century (see below, the chapters on drachms struck on the 'reduced denarius', and the 'cistophoric' weight). Since these drachms weigh more than half a gram heavier than those struck during the 1st century BC they are of a different standard and thus presumably would belong to a different period. The average weight of coins of Group B is c 3.83g⁴³⁷ showing that these issues were among the heaviest in the series of reduced Attic and this may be seen as further evidence that they belong to an early group.

The letter forms appearing in the legends of these drachms are identical with those on issues of the Chian Alexander type tetradrachms dating c 190-170 BC and signed with the full name of a moneyer (Bauslaugh, 1979, Period 4). Further, one moneyer seems to have struck both types of coinages since the name ΜΕΝΕΚΡΑΤΗΣ appears on a drachm issue of this series

⁴³⁵ Maurogordato considered that the letter forms may be earlier than those of other drachms ascribed to the same period -1st century BC- and also that the average weight of this group is much heavier than that of the other issues. In pp. 231 and 243, he noted the high relief of the types which is unlike the rest of the drachms dating in the 1st century BC and struck on a lower relief.

⁴³⁶ Maurogordato, 1917, *ibid*, followed the trend of his time in dating coins according to style. The sphinx is recorded as *uglier* and *worse drawn* than other drachm types and accordingly he thought that it should belong to a late period in the history of Greek coinage (see on this topic, B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum*, 2nd ed., (Oxford, 1911), pp. lxi-lxiv, in dating Greek coins according to style). In fact Maurogordato only studied three rather poor specimens of this issue; this study has recorded further coins, some of which are in a good state of preservation and showing that the work of the die engraver is not at all inferior compared to that of any other die engraver working at Chios during the earlier Hellenistic period.

⁴³⁷ The average weight was taken from five coins showing few signs of circulation, figs 12, 14-15, 19-20.

and a Chian Alexander type tetradrachm with the full name of a moneyer.⁴³⁸ The letter forms appearing in the legends of both these issues are identical and include the unusual letter form C in place of *epsilon* Ε and lacking the middle bar;⁴³⁹ the depiction of the letter form *mi* Μ is very similar to the letter *kappa* Κ. These letter forms are absent from all other -earlier or later- Chian issues and there can be little doubt that the dies were produced by one die engraver and that the issues were signed by the same moneyer.⁴⁴⁰

Other numismatic evidence indicating that issues of Group B are earlier than the 1st century BC is provided by a coin of the moneyer ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ of this group (fig. 15) which is clearly overstruck on an Alexander type drachm of Chios of the early 3rd century BC.⁴⁴¹ Alexander type drachms do not seem to have been any longer circulating at Chios or Asia Minor, by the mid 2nd century BC and the overstriking would seem to have occurred before that period.⁴⁴²

All the above evidence suggests a date in the first quarter of the 2nd century BC for Group B. This seems to be confirmed by the discovery at Pergamum of a Chian lagynos handle bearing a stamp with a sphinx identical in type to the one depicted on drachms of this

⁴³⁸ For the tetradrachm see Bauslaugh, *Posthumous Chian Alexanders*, p. 32, Series 73, 85-220, 221; Price, 1993, p. 305, type 2426. The drachm issue is known from a unique coin in the Benaki Museum at Athens and is unpublished. Maurogordato, 1916, pp. 328-9, discusses a much later drachm bearing the same name (see below the series on the cistophoric standard) and rightly considers that the moneyer could not have been the same as the one striking the Alexander type tetradrachm.

⁴³⁹ J. Kroll, 'Tetrobols of Cos', ANSMN XI, (1964), p. 90, f. 17, also recorded the use of this unusual letter for the *epsilon*, on tetrobols of Cos dating to the late Hellenistic period.

⁴⁴⁰ Due to the different types employed on the tetradrachm and the drachm it is not possible to compare styles; however the sphinx appearing as a mint symbol on the tetradrachm looks similar to that used as a type on drachms of this group. In Pl. XV, fig. B, I have included an illustration of a tetradrachm signed by ΜΕΝΕΚΡΑΤΗΣ for comparison with the drachm of this moneyer.

⁴⁴¹ The reverse of this drachm is overstruck on the obverse of the Alexander drachm; see the coin illustrated in Pl. XV, fig. 15, with a drawing of the undertype. In the field I. of the amphora the official's monogram is visible and above it is the hand of Zeus holding his eagle from the Alexander drachm. The face of Zeus is just visible under the amphora type of the civic drachm. It has not been possible to identify this particular Alexander type drachm but the positioning of the monogram on the reverse type shows that it would belong to an issue of Bauslaugh Period I, Series 1-5, pp. 2-4, dating in the early 3rd century BC.

⁴⁴² Chian Alexander type drachms appear in many hoards dating between c 280 and 200 BC (see Bauslaugh, *Posthumous Chian Alexanders*, Appendix 3, pp. 42-45), but only a single coin is found in a later hoard dating c. 185-160 BC, Urfa (Edessa) 1924, IGCH 1772, recorded by Bauslaugh, p. 45.

group.⁴⁴³ The stamp is inscribed with the name ΠΠΟ[ΝΙΚΟΣ] and almost certainly represents the same individual who also inscribed his name on pottery stamps bearing sphinx types that were copied from bronze issues of Series 17 (see p. 150). As we saw these particular lagynoi handles were found in an early 2nd century BC (180's BC) context at Athens and such a date would also apply to the lagynos from Pergamum.

None of the coins of Group B have been found in any of the recorded Chian hoards from the early 1st century BC (discussed above) indicating that they were no longer in circulation by the time the hoards were formed. However as we will see in the discussion of Group C (pp. 232-5), issues of Group B are likely to have been hoarded alongside these issues, suggesting that both groups (B and C) may have been in circulation together for some time.

The distinctive style of the sphinx present on these issues is similar to that appearing on an issue of the moneyer ΛΑΜΠΡΟΣ of Group D of Series 17 (see Pl. IX, figs. 22-23). This bronze issue was struck well over half a century before these drachms and it is unlikely that we have here the same die engraver at work. But since these earlier bronzes were still circulating during the early 2nd century BC, when drachms of this group were issued, it is likely that the sphinx may have been copied from this type.

No mint symbols are found on issues of Group B but some have letters or monograms as control marks on the reverse and above the amphora type. The use of letters in this capacity follows the precedent set by Group A, though in contrast to the examples from the earlier group these letters on drachms of Group B are clear and more prominent. One issue of ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ bears the letter Π (fig. 13) while issues of ΜΕΝΕΚΡΑΤΗΣ (fig. 16) and ΠΑΤΑΚΑΙΩΝ (fig.

⁴⁴³ Published by Burow, 1998, p. 126, no. 644 (AS774), TAF. 37. An illustration of this stamp is included in Pl. XV, figure C; compare the type of the sphinx with that of coins of ΠΑΤΑΚΑΙΩΝ in fig. 19 and of ΦΑΝΗΣ in fig. 20 of the same plate. The sphinx on the stamp is stylistically close to both types.

19) have the letter Α. The letters may stand for the names of secondary moneyers that are different to those signing the issues. It is also likely that these secondary moneyers may have signed other issues in the same group with their full name.⁴⁴⁴ In this case the control letters on the issue of ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ may stand for the name Π[ΑΤΑΙΚΙΩΝ] and for issues of ΠΑΤΑΙΚΙΩΝ and ΜΕΝΕΚΡΑΤΗΣ the name Α[ΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ].⁴⁴⁵

The appearance of letters or monograms, possibly belonging to secondary moneyers, and the use of common obverse dies in issues of different moneyers, may point to a board of moneyers in charge of the issues, rather than individuals succeeding each other. This implies that the coinage may have been struck within a brief period and probably copying in this way contemporary Alexander type coinage which is also thought to have been struck by two or three different moneyers at the same time (Bauslaugh, *Posthumous Chian Alexanders*, p. 33, f. 48).

It is likely therefore that the drachms may have been struck to cover a short term expense, rather than to make regular payments. Chian participation in the war against Antiochus III (192-188 BC) and initial expenses emanating from the treaty of Apamea, and the setting up of the Chian administration in the newly acquired territorial possessions in Asia Minor, are likely to have occasioned the issue of Alexander type tetradrachms of Period 4. Drachms of Group B would also probably have been struck within the same context and would then represent a silver fractional denomination to this tetradrachm coinage.

⁴⁴⁴ For a similar case of moneyers that were possibly controlling issues of other contemporary moneyers, see the chapter on Series 17, p. 152, where I include issues of Group A bearing countermarks with the names of moneyers who also issued their own issues within the same group.

⁴⁴⁵ As we saw, these issues use in their legends a dot instead of the letter Θ suggesting that a dot next to the letter Α on the ΠΑΤΑΙΚΙΩΝ issue could stand for this letter and the name could be reconstructed as ΑΘ[ΗΝΑΙΟΣ].

GROUP B c 190-70 BC [M. 76a]

Av. weight of the group: 3.83g (5 coins weighed, worn and pierced coins are excluded from the average weight).

Obv.: sphinx seated l. on line, bunch of grapes in front; dotted circle round the flan

Rev.: amphora in centre, name of moneyer in field to r., ethnic legend XIOΣ. to the l.; no symbol in the rev. type, and some issues have a letter just above the amphora; the whole within a vine wreath which is loosely tied at the end.

Three obverse dies recorded in total for this group, shared by different moneyers; see individual issues for reverse dies.

Moneyer: ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ; letter Π in the reverse type above amphora (most visible on coin fig. 13).

Three reverse dies

London

B.M.:

no. 74; 19.00 mm, 3.73g, 12; **fig. 12**. Obv. Die 1, Rev. Die 1 *

Larisa

T. c.:

18.00 mm, weight not recorded, 12; ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ; coin is worn. **fig. 13**. Obv. Die 1, Rev. Die 2

Berlin

M. K.:

I. B. 1900; 19.00 mm, 3.82g, 12; ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ. **fig. 14**. Obv. Die 1, Rev. Die 3 *

New York

A. N. S.:

1978, 82, 65; 3.75g, 12; ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ. The coin is overstruck on an earlier Chian drachm of 'Posthumous Alexander' types; traces of the undertype are visible in the field l. of the amphora. **fig. 15** *

Moneyer: ΜΕΝΕΚΡΑΤ[ΗΣ], letter Α in the rev. type above amphora. This drachm was not included by Maurogordato.

One reverse die

Athens

Benaki Museum.:

G. P. no 78; 18.00 mm, weight not recorded, 1; ΜΕΝΕΚΡΑΤ[ΗΣ]; coin is worn. **fig. 16**. O. 2

Moneyer: ΠΑΤΑΙΚΙΩΝ; letter Α in the rev. type above amphora (most visible on coin fig. 19)

Three reverse dies

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:

no. 1627; 18.00 mm, 2.40g, 12; ΠΑΤΑΙΚΙΩΝ; coin is broken and worn. **fig. 17**. Obv. Die 2? Rev. Die 1

Athens

B. M.:

G. P. no. 77; 18.00 mm, weight not recorded, 12; ΠΑ[Τ]ΑΙΚΙΩΝ; coin is worn. **fig. 18**. Obv. Die 1, Rev. Die 2

Glössener Münzhandlung Dieter Gorny München May 1994

no. 272; 20.00 mm, 3.93g, die axis not recorded; ΠΑΤΑΙΚΙΩΝ. **fig. 19**. Obv. Die 3, Rev. Die 3*

Moneyer: ΦΑΝΗΣ; indistinguishable letter in the rev. type above amphora

One reverse die

Cambridge

F. M.:

M. c. no. 8371; 19.00 mm, 3.94g, 12: ΦΑΝΗΣ. **fig. 20.***

Group C (Pl. XVI, figs. 1-23; Pl. XVII, figs. 24-38)

C. 1. Issues and die studies: This group is the largest in the series of reduced Attic drachms and includes 41 recorded coins with names of 16 different moneyers recorded in individual issues.⁴⁴⁶ The high number of moneyers striking in this group -compared to moneyers in other groups- and different styles for some of the types appearing on the different issues suggest that this group spans the longest period in the reduced Attic series.

I have distinguished within Group C smaller groups of issues comprising issues signed by different moneyers but sharing the same obverse dies and their reverse types show stylistic affinity. The first common obverse die was used for striking all known coins of ΑΡΓΕΙΟΣ, and one issue each of ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ and ΖΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ. The second obverse die appears in all known coins of ΑΝΔΡΩΝΑΞ, and an issue each of ΖΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ and ΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ. The third obverse die was used in all known coins of ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΗΣ and also the unique issues of ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΣ and ΖΗΝΩΝ. The fourth obverse die was used in all known coins of ΗΓΗΣΙΠΠΟΣ and the unique issue of ΒΑΚΧΩΝ. Table II records all known die links between issues of different moneyers:

TABLE II

DIE LINKS OF ISSUES OF GROUP C

Obverse die 1	ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ (fig. 33)	ΑΡΓΕΙΟΣ (all issues)	ΖΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ (fig. 26)
Obverse die 2	ΖΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ (fig. 25)	ΑΝΔΡΩΝΑΞ (fig. 5)	ΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ (fig.32)
Obverse die 3	ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΗΣ(all issues)	ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΣ (fig. 11)	ΖΗΝΩΝ (fig. 27)
Obverse die 4	ΗΓΗΣΙΠΠΟΣ (all issues)	ΒΑΚΧΩΝ (fig. 18)	

⁴⁴⁶ Moneyers known from a single coin: ΑΛΚΙΜΑΧΟΣ (fig. 14), ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΣ (fig. 11), ΒΑΚΧΩΝ (fig. 18), ΕΣΤΙΑΙΟΣ (fig. 24), ΖΗΝΩΝ (fig. 27), ΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΟΣ (fig. 31); from two coins: ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΗΣ (figs. 12-13), ΖΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ (figs. 25-26), ΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ (fig. 32); from three coins: ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΗΣ (figs. 1-3), ΑΡΓΕΙΟΣ (figs. 15-17); from four coins: ΑΝΔΡΩΝΑΞ (figs. 4-6, one coin not illustrated), ΑΠΕΛΛΑΣ (figs. 7-10), ΗΓΗΣΙΠΠΟΣ (figs. 28-30, one coin not illustrated); from five coins: ΔΩΡΟΘΕΟΣ (figs. 19-23); and from six coins: ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ (figs. 33-38).

It may be noted that the obverse dies of the unique coins of ΕΣΤΙΑΙΟΣ and ΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΟΣ are stylistically very similar, though their issues are not die linked, and were probably produced by the same die engraver. This also applies for the obverse used in all coins of ΑΠΕΛΛΑΣ in association with issues of ΗΓΗΣΙΠΠΟΣ and ΒΑΚΧΩΝ. The obverse dies used for striking coins of ΔΩΡΟΘΕΟΣ are stylistically similar to the first common obverse die used in issues signed by ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ, ΑΡΓΕΙΟΣ and ΖΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ. It is clear that the sharing of obverse dies between different issues and also the existence of stylistical similarities has brought together different issues in sub-groups. In Table III I have subdivided the different issues of Group C according to the evidence of die sharing and similarity of style.

TABLE III

SUB-GROUPS OF GROUP C

Sub-group 1	Sub-group 2	Sub-group 3	Sub-group 4	Sub-group 5
ΑΡΓΕΙΟΣ	ΖΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ	ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΣ	ΕΣΤΙΑΙΟΣ	ΗΓΗΣΙΠΠΟΣ
ΔΩΡΟΘΕΟΣ	ΑΝΔΡΩΝΑΞ	ΖΗΝΩΝ	ΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΟΣ	ΒΑΚΧΩΝ
ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ	ΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ	ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΗΣ		
ΖΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ	ΑΠΕΛΛΑΣ			

These subgroups are linked together by hoard evidence, the use of similar typological features, and in a few instances, the sharing of obverse dies between issues belonging to different subgroups (see below). It has been possible based on these elements to classify all issues within a single large group (Group C).

A total of 13 obverse dies were used in Group C but only issues of three moneyers, ΔΩΡΟΘΕΟΣ, ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ and ΖΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ are known from more than one obverse die. Coins of the first two moneyers were struck from a total of three obverse dies and those of the third moneyer from two; for a complete die study of all issues in this group see the coin catalogue. Taking into consideration the number of moneyers in this group and the duration of its issues

it is clear that only a very limited number of dies was used and the volume of coinage produced for each individual issue would have been modest. However the overall quantity of the coinage in Group C must have been relatively large for Chios.

C. 2. General aspects and proposed dating: Issues of this group are signed by the largest number of moneyers in any group of the reduced Attic series; Maurogordato however was unaware of most and recorded only three names in his own groups.⁴⁴⁷ Individual issues display legends in different positions of the reverse type and this feature also applies in a few cases for issues that are signed by the same moneyer or have been established from evidence to have been struck during the same period (see below). Mint symbols appear occasionally on these issues -though most lack them- in the left of the amphora or a break in the ethnic legend. The stylistic diversity for issues of the same moneyer -or different moneyers who are more or less contemporary- may be explained by the fact that a number of different die engravers were probably working together or within a short period of each other.

Because of the high number of moneyers that are known, a detailed description of each type would have taken up much space here and has been relegated to the coin catalogue. As we saw most of the issues are linked through the use of common obverse dies and this has made possible the construction of a relative sequence for the issues (see also pp. 230-1). The reverse type also appears similar for these issues and the vine wreath enclosing the basic type is usually depicted with its end bound once with fillets, not thrice as was the case for issues in Groups A-B.⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁷ These include ΑΝΔΡΩΝΑΞ in his type 66a and issues of ΑΠΕΛΛΑΣ and ΑΡΓΕΙΟΣ in his type 66b, with a proposed date in 133(?)–84 BC, (1917, p. 355); Maurogordato also recorded an issue signed by ΜΟΞΙΩΝ which he dated to the period c. 84–30 BC, (1917, p. 217).

⁴⁴⁸ Only a single issue, signed by ΑΠΕΛΛΑΣ, show the ends of the wreath tied thrice in a way similar to that appearing on drachms of earlier groups. This suggests that the issue may have been one of the earliest struck in the group.

A group of coins in the coin collection held at the Mayor's Hall of Larisa in Thessaly, Greece, provides us with numismatic evidence pertaining to the near contemporaneity of issues of Group C belonging to different subgroups.⁴⁴⁹ These coins almost certainly formed part of the same hoard and included a coin each from issues of moneyers ΑΠΕΛΛΑΣ (fig. 19), ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ (fig. 34), and ΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ (fig. 32).⁴⁵⁰ They seem to display similar signs of circulation and would probably have been issued during the same period. Interestingly the three coins happen to belong to issues of different sub-groups and are not linked through the use of common obverse dies or style. This hoard offers us further evidence that the different issues in Group C were struck close in date.

Issues of Group C represent the earliest coins to be found in the two published hoards of the early 1st century BC which I discuss in the introduction for the series (pp. 210-3). A coin of ΑΝΔΡΩΝΑΞ (Pl. XVI, fig. 5) from the Gridia hoard shows considerable surface wear, and this also applies for the coin of ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΗΣ (Pl. XVI, fig. 12) from the same hoard. The latter is also broken, suggesting that by the time it was deposited in the hoard it had lost much of its value and was circulating as a fraction of the drachm, possibly a hemidrachm. The Çesme hoard included a coin of ΖΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ (Pl. XVII, fig. 26) in a worn condition,⁴⁵¹ and a coin of ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ (Pl. XVII, fig. 37) barely recognizable as a result of corrosion and wear on its

⁴⁴⁹ For the 'Larisa' hoard, see C. Lagos, NC 156, (1996), p. 279. It seems to have comprised a number of Chian drachms on the 'reduced' Attic series; the coins have no known provenance but were certainly not found locally at Larisa. I have personally studied coins of this collection and noted the identical patina on the surface of the Chian drachms. All coins from the earlier groups (B-C) show a long circulation and are always worn while those from later groups (E-F) show few or no signs of circulation. It would seem from this that we are dealing with a currency, rather than a savings, hoard dating to the early 1st century BC. Some of the Chian issues are unique or known from another one or two recorded specimens (see the coin catalogue), and this collection boasts by far the largest number of drachms of Hellenistic Chios anywhere in Greece outside Chios, including the Athens Numismatic Museum. I wish here to express my thanks to the mayor of Larisa, Mr Chrysostomos Kafes for allowing me to study the coins in the mayor's office and also showing me documents relating to the collection. Thanks are also reserved to the town councillors for sharing with me information dealing with the acquisition of the coin collection and possible provenances for individual coins making up the collection. It is hoped that by the end of the century the coin collection will be housed in the Larisa Public Gallery that was under construction in 1995 when I visited the city.

⁴⁵⁰ The ΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ issue is unique and only became known from this hoard.

⁴⁵¹ The name of the moneyer on this coin was wrongly recorded by Kleiner, 'Çesme Hoard', p. 22, as ΖΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ.

surface. The latter issue was not recorded in the hoard's publication but its identification as an issue of this moneyer may be considered certain. Coins of Group C included in both hoards show signs of an extensive circulation and would have been struck a long time prior to their deposit in the hoards. They are more worn than any other Chian or foreign coins suggesting that they are likely to be the earliest coins included in the hoards. Arguably they show signs of a longer circulation than that of the tetradrachms in the same hoards and dating to the mid 2nd century BC, but we should also consider that drachms circulated more frequently than tetradrachms and sustained a greater amount of wear.

The likely hoard of Chian coins in the Larisa collection -see the previous page with reference to three coins of Group C in Larisa- may have also included a coin of ΠΑΤΑΚΑΙΩΝ (Pl. XV, fig. 18) and one of ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ (Pl. XV, fig. 13) (both issues of Group B) both in this collection. These coins show more signs of circulation than coins of Group C from the same hoard (see above) suggesting that they would have been issued before drachms of this group. It must be noted that the worn condition of the coins from both groups B and C shows that the formation of this particular hoard in Larisa took place a long time after the striking of the coins. I would suggest that these coins were part of a hoard of similar content and date to the Chian element of the Gridia and Cesme hoards (early 1st century BC). This seems to be confirmed by the presence in the coin collection at Larisa of other Chian drachms dating to the early 1st century BC and showing few or no signs of circulation. These may also have originally belonged to the same hoard containing the above issues of groups B-C (the later coins are discussed below in their relevant groups, p. 253 & 260).

Another group of two coins in the coin collection of the American Numismatic Society, an issue of ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ belonging to Group B (Pl. XX, fig. 15) and another one of ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ, of Group C (Pl. XVII, fig. 36), also show signs of similar circulation and display the

same type of patina on their surfaces. It is likely that both coins were originally found in the same hoard something which is also confirmed by the fact that the coins were acquired together from the same source (the coins have the same inventory number, 1978. 82. 65). Since they show signs of a long circulation they are likely to have originated from a hoard of the early 1st century BC, similar in date and composition to the hoards of ‘Çesme’ and ‘Gridia’ (and the ‘Larisa’ hoard?) hoards, rather than one deposited close to the date of issue of the coins.

A coin signed by ΠΑΤΑΙΚΙΩΝ, a moneyer of Group B (Pl. XV, fig. 19), and one of ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ of Group C (Pl. XVII, fig. 38) appeared recently together in a coin sale’s catalogue.⁴⁵² Photographs of these coins clearly show their surfaces covered with an identical patina of a distinctive colour, normally an indication of derivation from a common archaeological context. The virtually uncirculated condition of the coins suggests that they were deposited soon after the striking of these issues. In contrast to this, issues of Group C found in hoards or contexts dating to the early 1st century BC display a good deal of wear.

These recorded groups of coins indicate that issues of Group B and C would have circulated together and that they were issued within a short interval. ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ was possibly the earliest moneyer striking issues in Group C since his coins seem to be found hoarded with issues of Group B and also because one of the reverse dies he used is stylistically identical with the reverse type appearing in issues of Group B, but which is absent from any other issue of Group C.⁴⁵³

⁴⁵² The catalogue is of Giessener Munzhandlung, Dieter Giorny Munchen, May 1994, no. 272, a coin of ΠΑΤΑΙΚΙΩΝ illustrated in the present study in Pl. XV, fig. 19; no. 273 of the same catalogue is a coin of ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ, illustrated here in Pl. XVII, fig. 38.

⁴⁵³ Compare the reverse type of issues of Group C illustrated in Pl. XVII, figs. 34, 36, 38, with that of reverses of coins belonging to Group B and illustrated in Pl. XV, figs. 12-20. Maurogordato, 1917, type 69, p. 217, dated the issue of ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ to the later period of c 84-30 BC based on the weight of the single coin which studied in the Berlin Munzkabinett. It is only 3.35g, which is far too low for an issues on the reduced Attic weight and identical to that of the ‘reduced denarius’ standard of the later 1st century BC (see pp. 308-9 for this weight standard). However this particular coin is clipped and worn, and the evidence for dating the issue of ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ alongside

Issues of Group C coincide with the production of the bulk of Alexander type tetradrachms bearing a moneyer's full name (Bauslaugh, Period 4), which is particularly helpful for dating with some accuracy the drachms of individual moneyers. A few moneyers signed issues in both types of coinage. A drachm of ΖΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ was struck with the same obverse die used in all known coins of the moneyer ΑΡΓΕΙΟΣ (see above, the listing with common dies shared by different moneyers); these same names also appear in the exergue of Alexander type tetradrachms of Chios which happen to belong to the same group of issues, sharing the same control monogram in the reverse type.⁴⁵⁴ The individuals were clearly in charge of both types of coinage (civic type drachms and the Alexander tetradrachms), which were probably then produced at the same time.⁴⁵⁵ ΑΛΚΙΜΑΧΟΣ is another moneyer providing us with a link between drachms of this group and Alexander type tetradrachms since this name appears in issues of both coinages. The name's rarity makes it likely that the same individual was in charge of the namesake drachm and tetradrachm issues.⁴⁵⁶ Bauslaugh has proposed a date for this group of Alexander type tetradrachms around 170 BC, and this would also apply for the civic type drachms signed with the same moneyers' names.

the reduced Attic weight drachms is now plentiful, after the discovery of other coins bearing this moneyer's name in a good state of preservation, which are clearly struck on the reduced Attic weight standard, die links with other issues on this standard, and also hoard evidence.

⁴⁵⁴ Bauslaugh, *Posthumous Chian Alexanders*, p. 32, ΖΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ: Series 74; ΑΡΓΕΙΟΣ: Series 77. Illustrations of the reverses of one coin each of these tetradrachms are included in this study in Pl. XVI, figs B-C.

⁴⁵⁵ This subject is further investigated by C. Lagos in 'Posthumous Alexander type tetradrachms of Chios and associated civic type drachms of the early Second century BC', in *Mneme Martin. J. Price*, ed. A. Tzamalīs, *Bibliotheca of the Hellenic Numismatic Society* No. 5, (1997), pp. 135-144.

⁴⁵⁶ The name ΑΛΚΙΜΑΧΟΣ is attested in three different inscriptions from the second half of the 3rd century BC but found in only one other inscription down to the Roman Imperial period. The name is also found on stamped Chian amphorae handles of the 2nd century BC, Sarikakis, p. 23, no. 191. In one of the 3rd century BC inscriptions, ΑΛΚΙΜΑΧΟΣ son of ...ΙΡΗΝΟΥ is named as a representative of Chios to the Delphic Amphictiony (F. Delphi III. 3, 219; Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 23, no. 193). The inscription is dated c 225-215 BC suggesting that it is unlikely that this official could be the same with the namesake moneyer striking the Alexander tetradrachm and also the civic type drachm in this name, since there is more than a forty year gap between the proposed date for the coinage and that of the inscription. However in light of the rarity of the name it is possible that the moneyer may have been the son or grandson of the representative at the Delphic Amphictiony. Maurogordato, 1916, p. 301, also suggested a possible link between the moneyer of this drachm and his namesake in charge of the tetradrachm.

From this cumulative evidence it is clear that the Chian drachms Group C would date in the period between the early and mid 2nd century BC and certainly not the 1st century BC as Maurogordato suggested for the few issues known to him. The date proposed for these drachms in this study coincides with the period when the Chian economy would have been benefiting the most from the Peace of Apamea (see the chapter on the economy, pp. 642-3). Some indication of this may be found in the regular output of drachms by the local mint on the reduced Attic standard and in particular issues of Group C.

The average weight of 26 coins, showing few signs of circulation, is 3.84g. Most weights of these issues fall in the range of 3.90-3.80g, but there are also few coins -in a good condition- showing a lighter weight. The mint at Chios clearly maintained the same weight standard with drachms of Groups A-C since there is no real difference in the average weight of issues in these groups. This seems to constitute further evidence that the issues were struck over a period when Chios had a stable economy.

C. 3. Epigraphic evidence: The names of some moneyers of Group C are found listed together in inscriptions dating during the Hellenistic period. This type of evidence seems to suggests contemporarity for moneyers striking in this group and whose names are also attested epigraphically.

In one of the inscriptions recording subscriptions for the repairing of the city walls we find the following names of four individuals, who are namesake to moneyers of Group C, namely ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ, ΖΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ, ΔΩΡΟΘΕΟΣ, and ΑΠΕΛΛΑΣ.⁴⁵⁷ The name ΖΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ was particularly common during this period since we find it in a number of inscriptions (over 10 different individuals bearing this name are recorded by Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, pp.

⁴⁵⁷ ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ son of ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΔΩΡΟΣ, A' inscription, Col I, line 1; ΖΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ son of ΜΕΝΩΝ, A' inscription, Col. I, line 2; ΔΩΡΟΘΕΟΣ son of ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ, A' inscription, Col. II, line 33; ΑΠΕΛΛΑΣ son of ΕΥΒΟΥΛΟΣ, A' inscription, Col I, line 17.

185-7, for the 2nd century BC). The earliest known appearance of the name ΔΩΡΟΘΕΟΣ at Chios is in an inscription dating to the 3rd century BC, as the father of a magistrate.⁴⁵⁸ The name then appears in two inscriptions dating in the 3rd-2nd centuries BC; one of these honours a magistrate of this name.⁴⁵⁹ Finally a ΔΩΡΟΘΕΟΣ is included in a list of names, possibly of eponymous magistrates, dating to the second half of the 2nd century BC. (W. G. Forrest, SEG 17, 1960, no. 381, Ab, 1; Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 138, no. 265). The other two names, ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ and ΑΠΕΛΛΑΣ seem to have been of greater rarity at Chios and I discuss below these names in the light of another inscription where they also appear together.

We seem to have here a gap of two or three decades between the date of the wall subscription lists and the beginning of coin production in this group. However it is possible that some of the individuals named in the inscriptions may have lived long enough to have coined money later in life.⁴⁶⁰ In fact some of the issues bearing the names of these moneyers date among the earliest in the group, suggesting that they may have been the closest of all in this group to the period of the wall subscriptions.⁴⁶¹

Another inscription bearing names in common with issues from Group C is a record of contemporary Chians who won victories in cultural and athletic competitions. The inscription is generally dated to the 2nd-1st centuries BC,⁴⁶² and includes four individuals of the same

⁴⁵⁸ This inscription is unpublished but the inscribed name was included by Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 138, no. 263.

⁴⁵⁹ For the first inscription see Stephanou, 1963, p. 151; Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 273, no. 136. The second inscription was first published by Studniczka, 1888, p. 171, no. 12; Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 138, no. 261.

⁴⁶⁰ Kinns, 1986, p. 10, discusses a similar case at Miletus where we have the appearance of a few common names on a coin series of Miletus and a catalogue of subscribers. He suggests that the issues date 20 or 25 years earlier than the inscriptions, but considers it possible that the recorded individuals named in the inscriptions may well have been the same as with the namesake moneyers of the earlier period.

⁴⁶¹ As we saw in the discussion of the issues (p. 235), the moneyer ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ is likely to be among the first to issue coinage in this group and ΑΠΕΛΛΑΣ may also have struck early in the series on account of his use of a reverse type which is stylistically similar to that of Groups A and B (see p. 232). An issue of ΖΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ shares a common die with issues of ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ, and issues of ΔΩΡΟΘΕΟΣ are also stylistically similar to this issue (see pp. 230-1). These links between different issues suggest that the moneyers may have been close contemporaries, as would have been their namesake individuals referred in the 'wall subscriptions'.

⁴⁶² Boeckh, CIG 2214, with the proposed date, also followed in Syll. 3, no. 959, p. 57.

names as moneyers striking issues in Group C (see Table IV). These names are found exclusively in inscriptions dating between the early 3rd century BC and the 1st century BC and none are common at Chios. One of these, ΕΣΤΙΑΙΟΣ, must have been a particularly rare name since it only appears in this inscription and the issue of Group C. The names ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΗΣ and ΑΠΕΛΛΑΣ are found in other inscriptions of the same period, and associated with the same names as in the inscription under consideration; this suggests that both may have been family names.⁴⁶³ The name ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ is relatively scarce and may also have been a family name since it was borne by a father and son whose names are recorded in an early 3rd century BC inscription.⁴⁶⁴

It is likely that some of the individuals named in the inscription may be identified with moneyers in charge of drachm issues. Not only are these names rare,⁴⁶⁵ probably family names, but a further four names listed in the same inscription are also found on issues of the Alexander tetradrachms of Bauslaugh Period 4, signed with the full names of moneyers, and which are dated, as we saw above, to the same period as the drachms of this group.

⁴⁶³ In another inscription we find [Κ]ΛΕΙΝΟΜΑΧΟΣ son of ΑΠΕΛ[ΛΑΣ]: Athena 1908, 212, no. 10, line 5; Plassart & Picard, 221, no. 29, line 5; SEG, 22, (1967), no. 517; Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 270, no. 114. The inscription is generally dated to the 2nd-1st century BC and Sarikakis considers the individual named in this inscription to be the father of ΑΠΕΛΛΑΣ included in the inscription discussed above. ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑ daughter of ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΗΣ is commemorated on a tombstone dating to the 2nd century BC, see G. Dunst, 'Χίακα', APF 16, (1958), pp. 169-189, p. 184, no. 16; Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 3, no. 19. The name ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑ is the feminine for ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΗΣ (her father's name) suggesting that both the masculine and feminine form of this name may have belonged to members of the same family.

⁴⁶⁴ The inscription was published by L. Robert, BCH 57, 1933, p. 508, who dates it in the early 3rd century BC. With the exception of the inscription under discussion, the name ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ appears exclusively in inscriptions dating to the 3rd century BC, see Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, pp. 334-5. For lagynoi handles bearing a stamp with this name, see Grace, 1956, p. 166, no. 199, with a proposed date of c. 200 BC.

⁴⁶⁵ In contrast, the names from this group also found in the 'Wall subscription lists' are rather more common, with the exception of ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ and ΑΠΕΛΛΑΣ.

TABLE IV

Name of athlete	Competition	Epigraphic reference	Issue Group
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CIVIC TYPE DRACHMS, GROUP C

line 5-9	ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΗΣ son of ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΗΣ	rapsody	Sarikakis, Prosopography, p. 5 no. 33	Group C
line 29	ΑΠΕΛΛΑΣ son of ΚΛΕΙΝΟΜΑΧΟΣ	childrens' boxing	Sarikakis, Prosopography, p. 41, no. 323	Group C
line 18	ΕΣΤΙΑΙΟΣ son of ΜΕΓΗΝΩΡ	stadium	Sarikakis, Prosopography, p. 165, no. 185	Group C
line 14-15	ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ son of ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ	dolichon	Sarikakis, Prosopography, p. 334, no. 251	Group C

‘ALEXANDER’ TETRADRACHMS c 190-170 BC

line 3	ΝΙΚΙΑΣ		Sarikakis, Prosopography, p. 346 no. 63	Bauslaugh Period 4, ser. 82
line 2	ΞΟΥΘΟΣ		Sarikakis, Prosopography, p. 353 no. 17	Bauslaugh Period 4, ser. 89
line 10	ΞΕΝΩΝ		Sarikakis, Prosopography, p. 353 no. 15	Bauslaugh Period 4, ser. 66
line 11-12	ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΗΣ		Sarikakis, Prosopography, p. 79 no. 632	Bauslaugh Period 4, ser. 66

Having established that Group C was almost certainly struck alongside Alexander type tetradrachms of Bauslaugh Period 4 (see pp. 235-6), it seems more than a coincidence that we find in the same inscription a catalogue of names that are identical with those of moneyers signing different but contemporary issues. Unfortunately the date proposed by epigraphists for this inscription (2nd-1st century BC) is much too general to be of any further assistance in identifying the individuals recorded in the inscription with those named on the civic type and contemporary Alexander type coinage. I would hazard here in suggesting that the study of the coinage may hold the key for dating this inscription during the first half of the 2nd century BC. In light of this numismatic evidence on the likely date for the inscription it seems that epigraphists should re-examine the forms of its letters and consider a more precise date.

Another inscription bearing a catalogue of names, probably belonging to individuals who held the office of the eponymous magistrates, and dating during the second half of the 2nd century BC,⁴⁶⁶ includes some names that are also found on drachms of the reduced Attic standard from Group C and earlier groups. These are, ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ on an issue of Group B, and [ΔΩΡΟΘ]ΕΟΣ, [ΑΡ]ΓΕΙΟΣ and [Α]ΛΚ[ΙΜΑΧΟΣ] on issues of Group C. As we saw the two groups (B and C), are close in date and this would also apply for the individuals recorded in the same inscription. The names are relatively scarce and identification with the namesake moneyers is possible suggesting that the eponymous magistrate at the time may also have been in charge of coinage.⁴⁶⁷

⁴⁶⁶ The inscription is published by W. G. Forrest, SEG 17, 1960, no. 381, who has plausibly suggested that the names found in it belong to eponymous magistrates.

⁴⁶⁷ I discuss above all available epigraphic evidence at Chios on the names of ΔΩΡΟΘΕΟΣ and ΑΛΚΙΜΑΧΟΣ. For the name ΑΡΓΕΙΟΣ see the relevant discussion in the epigraphic evidence associated with Series 17. There I comment on the rarity of this name and the possibility that it may have been restricted to a single family at Chios. In such a case the individual signing the drachm of Group C of the reduced Attic standard may have well been a grandson of the namesake moneyer of Series 17. The name ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ also appears to be rare since, with the exception of the inscription discussed here, it is not found in any inscription dating to the 2nd-1st centuries BC. See Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 14. However the name also appears in stamps of amphora handles dating to the 2nd century BC and collected by Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 15, no. 124.

GROUP C. c 170-120 BC

Obv. : sphinx of various different styles. seated always to the l.; in front of the sphinx there is a bunch of grapes. Clear specimens show the flan decorated with a circle of small dots.

Rev. : amphora in centre; name of moneyer to the r. or l. and ethnic legend on the opposite side; on a few issues the ethnic legend is broken. XI-ΟΣ; mint symbols appear in a few types and these are recorded below for each individual issue; the whole is enclosed within an elaborate vine wreath with the ends tied twice with fillets. On clear specimens the two ends of the fillets are visible, hanging in the end of the wreath.

Av. weight of the entire group: 3.84g (26 coins have been weighed, pierced and worn coins have been excluded)

Moneyer: ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΗΣ; the symbol of this issue is the stern of a ship depicted in the field l. of the amphora base. This drachm was not included by Maurogordato. In the letter alpha, the middle bar is bent and not broken.

One obverse and two reverse dies

av. weight of this issue is 3.74g

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:

no. 1560; 18.00 mm, 3.88g, 12, ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΗΣ. **Pl. XVI, fig. 1.** Rev. Die 1; the mint symbol of the stern of a ship mint is depicted on this issue between the amphora and the ethnic and beside the base of the amphora. *

Boston

D. c.:

no. 2330; 18.00 mm, 3.60g, 12, ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΗΣ. **fig. 2.** Rev. Die 2. the stern of a ship symbol appears in the field between the ethnic and the wreath.*

Kastner auction catal., no. 10, May 1976

no. 65; 18.00 mm, no weight or die axis recorded, ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΗΣ. **fig. 3.** Rev. Die 1

Moneyer: ΑΝΔΡΩΝΑΞ; the sphinx on this issue is depicted lifting a front paw over a bunch of grapes; snake symbol ? in the reverse l. of the ethnic [M. 66a]. In the letter alpha, the middle bar is straight.

One obverse and three reverse die.

av. weight of this issue is 3.79g

Paris

B. N.:

no. 3012; 19.50 [18.00] mm, 3.71g, 12; ΑΝΔΡΩΝΑΞ; letter Π? in the rev. type above amphora. **fig. 4.** Rev. Die 1*

Chios

A. M.:

Gridia h. no. 3; 19.00 mm, 3.65g, 12; [ΑΝΔΡΩ]ΝΑΞ, indistinguishable letter in the rev. type above amphora; coin is worn. **fig. 5.** Rev. Die 2

Hirsh auct. cata. no. 175, Sept. 1992

no. 338; 18.00 mm, 3.88g, die axis not recorded; ΑΝΔΡΩΝΑΞ. **fig. 6.** Rev. Die 3 *

Moneyer: ΑΠΕΛΛΑΣ; XI-ΟΣ. [M. 66b]. The sphinx type of this issue is similar to that appearing on issues of Group A. In the letter alpha, the middle bar is broken

One obverse and two reverse dies

av. weight of this issue is 3.74g

Larisa

T. c.: 18.00 mm, weight not recorded, 12; ΑΠΕΛΛΑΣ, letters. **fig. 7.** Rev. Die 1

Istanbul

A. M.:
no. 6894; 18.00 mm, 3.90g, 12; ΑΠΕΛΛΑΣ. **fig. 8.** Rev. Die 2 *

Munich

M. K.:
19.00 mm, 3.67g, 12. **fig. 9.** Rev. Die ? *

Berlin

M. K.:
F. 1873; 21.00 mm, 3.65g, 12. ΑΠ.....ΛΑΣ; part of the name is obliterated by a cmk of a bust of Athena wearing attic helmet. **fig. 10.** Rev. Die 2.*

Moneyer: ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΣ; no reverse symbol. In the letter alpha, the middle bar is straight. This drachm was not included by Maurogordato.

Istanbul

A. M.:
no. 6895; 20.00 mm, 3.92g, 2; ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΣ. **fig. 11.** common obv. die with ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΗΣ and ΖΗΝΩΝ.*

Moneyer: ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΗΣ; unidentified symbol appears in the legend break XI-ΟΣ. In the letter alpha, the middle bar is straight. This drachm was not included by Maurogordato

One reverse die; common obv. die with ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΣ and ΖΗΝΩΝ.

Chios

A. M.:
ex Gridia h. no. 4; 20.00 mm, 2.65g, 2; ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΗΣ, coin is broken and worn. **fig. 12**

N. York

A. N. S.:
1979. 168. 20; 19.00 mm, 3.89, 2. ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΗΣ; ex Burton. B. c. no 1095. **fig. 13***

Moneyer: ΑΛΚΙΜΑΧΟΣ; no reverse mint symbol. The letter alpha has the middle bar straight [M. 63a]

Cambridge

F. M.:
L. c. no. 4607; 17.00 mm, 3.70g, 12; ΑΛΚΙΜΑΧΟΣ. **fig. 14 ***

Moneyer: ΑΡΓΕΙΟΣ; no reverse mint symbol. The letter alpha has the middle bar broken[M. 66a]

One obverse and two reverse dies

London

B. M.:
no 46; 18.00 mm, 3.34g, 1; ΑΡΓΕΙΟΣ; coin is worn. On this issue the ethnic appears r. of the amphora and the name of the moneyer l. **fig. 15.** Rev. Die 1

Paris

B. N.:

no. 3024: 18.00 [17.50] mm, 4.05g, 1; ΑΡΓΕΙΟΣ; ethnic l. and moneyer's r. of the amphora. **fig. 16.** Rev. Die 2*

Munich

M. K.:

18.00 mm, 3.26g, 12; ΑΡΓΕΙ[ΟΣ]; coin is worn and chipped; same type as fig. 15. **fig. 17.** Rev. Die 1

Moneyer: ΒΑΚΧΩΝ; ΧΙ-ΟΣ; no reverse mint symbol. The letter alpha has the middle bar straight. This drachm was not included by Maurogordato

New York

A. N. S.:

1944.100.47230; 3.94, 12; ΒΑΚΧΩΝ. **fig. 18.** Obv. die used in common with ΗΓΗΣΙΠΠΟΣ.*

Moneyer: ΔΩΡΟΘΕΟΣ; trident symbol in field l. of the moneyer's name. [M. 63a]

Three obverse and reverse dies

av. weight of this issue is 3.80g

London

K. c.:

18.00 mm, 3.95g, 1, ΔΩΡΟΘΕΟΣ. **fig. 19.** Obv. Die 1, Rev. Die 1*

Athens

E. c.:

18.00 mm, 3.65g, 12; ΔΩΡΟΘΕΟΣ. **fig. 20.** Obv. Die 2, Rev. Die 2 *

Paris

B. N.:

no. 3028; 21.00 [19.00] mm, 3.64g, 12, ΔΩΡΟΘΕΟΣ. **fig. 21.** Obv. Die 2, Rev. Die 2 *

Istanbul:

A. M.:

no. 6896; 18.00 mm, 3.93g, 12; ΔΩΡΟΘΕΟΣ. **fig. 22.** Obv. Die 2, Rev. Die 2 *

New York

A. N. S.:

1977. 158. 376; 3.86, 12; ΔΩΡΟΘΕΟΣ; this coin is overstruck. **fig. 23.** Obv. Die 3, Rev. Die 3 *

Moneyer: ΕΣΤΙΑΙΟΣ; prow of ship symbol in field l. of amphora and under the ethnic [M. 63a]

Paris

B. N.:

W. c. no. 2012; 20.00 mm, 3.99g, 12; ΕΣΤΙΑΙΟΣ. **Pl. XVII, fig. 24 ***

Moneyer: ΖΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ; sphinx is depicted as lifting a front paw over a bunch of grapes; no reverse mint symbol. This drachm was not included by Maurogordato. The letter *zeta* shows the old form with the parallel and vertical bars.

Two obverse and two reverse dies

av. weight of this issue is 3.84g

London

B. M.:
no. 851; 18.00 mm, 3.70g, 12; ΖΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ. **fig. 25.** Obv. Die 1, Rev. Die 1*

Turin

A. M.:
no. 4141; 3.99g, die axis not recorded; no illustr. but legend is rendered as ΖΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ *

Boston

M. F. A.:
no. 65.94, Çesme h. no. 37; mm, 3.64, 2; ΖΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ; coin is worn. **fig. 26.** Obv. Die 2 (common obv. die with ΑΡΓΕΙΟΣ and ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ), Rev. Die 2 *

Feuardent Freres, Paris, Auction 8-7-1919
no. 453; no details and illustration, ΖΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ

Moneyer: ΖΗΝΩΝ; thyrsus symbol to the left of the ethnic. Maurogordato, 1916, p. 313, wrongly describes it as an upright club. The letter *zeta* shows the old form with the parallel and vertical bars. [M. 63a]

Paris

B. N.:
no. 3034; 19.00 mm, 3.92g, 12, ΖΗΝΩΝ. **fig. 27.** common obv. die with ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΣ and ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΗΣ *

Moneyer: ΗΓΗΣΙΠΠΟΣ; ΧΙ-ΟΣ; no reverse mint symbol. This drachm was not included by Maurogordato

One obverse and two reverse dies

av. weight of this issue is 3.63g

London

B. M.:
no. 852; 18.00 mm, 3.83g, 12, ΗΓΗΣΙΠΠΟΣ. **fig. 28.** Rev. Die 1*

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:
no. 1623; 18.00 mm, 3.67g, 12, ΗΓΗΣΙΠΠΟΣ. **fig. 29.** Rev. Die 2 *

New York

A. N. S.:
1977. 158. 375; 3.54g. 12; ΗΓΗΣΙΠΠΟΣ. This coin has been overstruck on an earlier Chian issue; traces of the undertype ethnic legend ΧΙΟΣ are visible in the exergue of the obverse. **fig. 30.** Rev. Die 1 *

Dorotheum, catalogue no. 359
no. 49; 3.49, no die axis recorded, ΗΓΗΣΙΠΠΟΣ. Rev. Die 1

Moneyer: ΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΟΣ. a rose symbol in the legend break ΧΙ-ΟΣ; Maurogordato, 1916, p. 317, wrongly describes it as a vase [M. 66b]

London

B. M.:
no. 51; 19.00 mm, 3.58g, 12, ΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΟΣ. **fig. 31 ***

Moneyer: KA[ΛΛI]KPATHEΣ; sphinx lifting paw over bunch of grapes. This drachm was not included by Maurogordato.

Larisa

T. c.:

18.00 mm, weight not recorded; 12; KA[ΛΛI]KPATHEΣ. Coin is worn. **fig. 32**. common obv. die with ANAPΩNAΞ-ZHNOΔOTOΣ

Rosenberg, Frankfurt, Catalogue no. 81, Nov. 1934

no. 1327. 3.80g. No illustration is known of this long disappeared coin but its type's description in the catalogue and the moneyer's name KΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ suggest that it may be of this issue.

Moneyer: ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ [M. 69]; no reverse mint symbol. The bunch of grapes in the obverse is of an unusual type (except for coin fig. 33) with five small branches on top of the grapes instead of one.

Three obverse and four reverse dies

av. weight of this issue is 3.89g

London

K. c., (ex Hirsh cat. 162, no. 252). 19.00 mm, 3.72g, 1; ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ. **fig. 33**. Obv. Die 1 (common obv. die with ΑΡΓΕΙΟΣ and ΖΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ). Rev. Die 1 *

Larisa

T. c.: 18.00 mm, weight not recorded, 2; ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ; coin is worn. **fig. 34**. Obv. Die 2, Rev. Die 2

Berlin

M. K.:

L. 1906, no. 8092; 19.00 [18.00]mm, 3.35g, 12; ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ; coin is worn. **fig. 35**. Obv. Die 2, Rev. Die 3

New York

A. N. S.:

1978. 82. 65; 3.75, 2; ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ; coin is worn. **fig. 36**. Obv. Die 3, Rev. Die 4

Boston

M. F. A.:

ex 1960 Çesme hoard; 19.00 mm, coin is worn and heavily corroded, and has been broken. Traces of an undertype legend ΣΚΟΣ visible on the obv. to the r. of the sphinx type, possibly overstruck on an earlier Chian drachm of ΑΓΓΕΛΙΣΚΟΣ (Attic drachm Series II). **fig. 37**. Obv. Die ? Rev. Die 1?

Giessener Munzhandlung Dieter Gorny, Munchen, May 1994

no. 273; 19.00 mm, 4.07g, die axis not recorded; ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ. **fig. 38**. Obv. Die 2. Rev. Die 2 *

Group D (Pl. XVII, figs. 39-46)

D. 1. Issues and die studies: The group comprises three different issues bearing the names of ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ (2 coins, figs. 39-40), ΘΕΥΜΝΙΣ (2 coins, figs. 41-42), and ΜΗΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ (4 coins, figs. 43-46). A total of eight coins is recorded in this group and all known issues were struck from three obverse dies; two of these were used exclusively for issues signed by ΜΗΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ and ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ. A die used in common by the last two named moneyers seems to have been hastily engraved since all coins struck from it show a badly drawn sphinx that appears to be almost defaced

D. 2. General aspects and proposed dating: The group corresponds with Maurogordato groups 63b (ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ and ΜΗΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ) and 66bb (ΘΕΥΜΝΙΣ). Maurogordato (1916, p. 341) knew of only two badly engraved specimens from the first group and was not even sure of the rendering of the moneyers' names.⁴⁶⁸ This problem was resolved with the publication of the Gridia hoard which happened to include one coin each from the two issues showing clear legends with the names of the moneyers (Papageorgiadou, 'Gridia Hoard', pp. 188-9).

The obverse type of this group shows the sphinx facing right which constitutes a break with the traditional depiction of the sphinx facing left on the drachms. This is the main difference distinguishing the type of this group from that of the other issues of the reduced Attic series. However this change was short lived since the issues of the next group (E) reverted to the sphinx type facing left. There is no evidence of a link between the change in the posture of the sphinx with a recorded event in the history of Chios.

⁴⁶⁸ The coins he studied are not worn but the details are blundered. Maurogordato thought that both coins were signed by the same moneyer but was confused by the fact that he could only make out ...ΦΙΛΟΣ from the legend while Mionnet, Whitte, and Imhoof-Blumer proposed the reconstruction of the name as ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ (for references see Maurogordato). As it turns out both readings are correct since the issues belong to two different moneyers and not a single one as Maurogordato thought. Because of the poor quality of the die engraving Maurogordato was also unable to make out the clear link between these issues and that signed by ΘΕΥΜΝΙΣ.

The main evidence for dating this group consists of finds of this group in the 'Gridia' and the 'Çesme' hoards. Two issues of Group D are represented with two coins each in these hoards indicating that the striking of this group would have been closer in date to the formation of the hoards -the early 1st century BC- than issues of Group C (see pp. 233-4). The overall condition of coins of Group D in the hoards has made clear that they had circulated for some time before they were taken out of circulation. However their surface shows moderate wear unlike the particularly worn condition of coins of Group C found in the same hoards. On this basis I would suggest that their issue would have come sometime after the mid 2nd century BC, the proposed period of issue for Group C

Issues of ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ and ΜΗΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ bear a depiction of the headdress of Isis as mint symbol in the reverse type in a break in the ethnic legend.⁴⁶⁹ This suggests a probable date of after the middle of the 2nd century for the issues, since this symbol is likely to have been adopted on the coinage after the cult of Isis became popular at Delos following its declaration as a free port in c 167 BC, and later adopted by the majority Greek cities, including Chios (the significance of mint symbols -including those linked to Isis- as possible indicators of date for issues is discussed in this study in a section of the chapter on typology, pp. 612-8).

The moneyer ΜΗΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ also struck a dichalkon and chalkous issues for Series 19, which carry the same mint symbol as his drachms.⁴⁷⁰ No date has been independently established for these two bronze issues (see below, p. 292, issues of Series 19, Group D).

⁴⁶⁹ Maurogordato records the mint symbol as a cantharus; however in p. 322 he states that the symbol appearing on contemporary bronze issues of the moneyer ΜΗΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ is the headdress of Isis. Nevertheless he did not link the bronze issues of this moneyer to his silver. In fact both symbols on the silver and bronze issues represent the same object, the headdress of Isis, and this is confirmed by the study of specimens of drachms of Group D that became available after Maurogordato published his study (see also the next footnote).

⁴⁷⁰ The bronze issue was known to Maurogordato who was unaware of the link between the bronze issue and the drachm, and failed to identify with certainty the namesake moneyer signing the drachm of Group D from the evidence of the bronze coinage. This was eventually done by Papageorgiadou, 'Gridia Hoard', p. 189, who was the first to record the name of ΜΗΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ on the drachm issue and to associate it with this moneyer's bronze.

The sphinx appearing in the gravestone of youth from Chios, who died and was buried in the Peiraeus,⁴⁷¹ copies closely the style and type of the sphinx used in issues of this group (illustrated in Pl. XVII, fig. A). This is evident in the positioning of the sphinx in the inscription, facing to the right (instead of the traditional positioning of the Chian sphinx in inscriptions to the left); its type is also identical to that on the coinage, see in particular, the marked small head, and the depiction of the wing; both these features are identical to those typical of the type appearing on issues of Group D. I would suggest that the artist who produced this engraving may have been copying the sphinx from the coin type of this group.

The gravestone is dated in general to the 1st century BC (G. Kastriotou, p. 58), which may provide us with additional evidence on the date of issue of Group D. Since the Peiraeus was destroyed in 86 BC by Sulla and was uninhabited over the following next five decades (Day, 1942, p. 123; see also p. 332 of the present study) it is likely that the gravestone would date before this event. This suggests a date before c 86 BC, but still early in the 1st century BC -or even the late 2nd century BC- in line with the proposed date of the archaeologist who published the gravestone.

Issues of Group D are likely to date after those of Group C and I would tentatively suggest that they belong to the late 2nd century BC. The average weight of issues in this group is 3.70g, showing a marked decline in the standard from earlier drachms of this series.⁴⁷² This weight decline is also retained on drachms of later groups (see below) suggesting that it was a deliberate policy on the part of the mint in conserving silver.

⁴⁷¹ G. Kastriotou, 'Ανάγλυφα εκ Πειραιεώς', *Εφημερίς Αρχαιολογική*, (1910), pp. 55-58.

⁴⁷² The average is taken from seven coins: two of ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ (figs 39-40); two of ΘΕΥΜΝΙΣ (figs 41-42); three of ΜΗΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ (figs 44-46).

D. 3. Epigraphic evidence: The father of a young athlete honoured with an inscription bears the name [M]ΗΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ.⁴⁷³ The inscription is dated with some precision in c 86 BC which is close in date to the proposed period of issues for Group D, one of which bears the patronymic of this athlete. The father is therefore likely to have lived during the same period as his namesake moneyer and since the name happens to be rare at Chios it is possible that he may be identified with this moneyer.⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁷³ Leonardos, AE 1925-6, p. 30, no. 142, l. 9, who suggests the restoration of the father's name as [Z]ΗΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ or [M]ΗΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ. Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 320, no. 148, agrees with [M]ΗΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ since the former name is not attested at Chios. The athlete, whose name is unknown, won the adolescents pagration competition at the Amphiareion Games held at Horopos in Attica in honour of the local mythological hero Amphiareos

⁴⁷⁴ Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 320, records only one other known occurrence of the name during the Hellenistic period, one of the individuals promising money for the repairing of the city walls around the end of the 3rd century BC. Papageorgiadou, 'Gridia Hoard', p. 187, who did not know of the appearance of the name in the inscription of c 86 BC included here suggested a possible identification of the moneyer with the namesake individual subscribing money for the repairing of the city walls. This is highly unlikely in view of the long interval between the period when the issue was struck and the walls of Chios were repaired.

GROUP D c 120 BC

Obv.: sphinx seated to the r. , bunch of grapes in front and under its breast.

Rev.: amphora in centre, name of moneyer in field to the r., and ethnic legend XI-OΣ to the l.; mint symbols appear in the legend break of the ethnic; the whole is encircled within a vine wreath

Av. weight of the group (8 coins): 3.70g

Moneyer: ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ; symbol, headdress of Isis. The drachm was published by Maurogordato as type 63b without recording the name of the moneyer.

Chios

A. M.:

Gridia h. no. 2; 19.00 mm, 3.70g, 12, ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟ[Σ]. **Pl. XVII, fig. 39.** Obv. die 1*

Paris

B. N.:

no. 3036; 19.00 mm, 3.67g, 12, ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ, overstruck on a non Chian issue. **fig. 40.** Obv. die 2 *

Moneyer: ΘΕΥΜΝΙΣ; symbol, a small figure of Dionysus standing and holding a bunch of grapes in his l. hand and a thyrsus in his r. [M. 66 bb]

One obverse and two reverse dies.

Berlin

M. K.:

Sperling; 21.00 [20.00] mm, 3.67g, 1, ΘΕΥΜΝΙΣ. **fig. 41.** rev die 1*

New York

A. N. S.:

1977. 158. 377; 3.81. 12; ΘΕΥΜΝΙΣ ; possibly the same coin as the following. **fig. 42** rev. die 2 *

Sotheby London Auction Dec. 1974 (ex Argenti coll.)

no acc. no.; 3.81g, die axis not recorded; illustr. not available

Moneyer: ΜΗΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ; symbol, headdress of Isis. Maurogordato published this coin as type 66 b but without recording the name of the moneyer.

London

B. M.:

no. 52; 18.00 mm, 3.84g, 12, ΜΗΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ. **fig. 43.** Obv. die 1*

Athens

E. c.:

{acq. in 1955}; 18.00 mm, 3.48g, 11; ΜΗΝΟΦΙΛ[ΟΣ]. **fig. 44.** Obv. die 2 *

Chios

A. M.:

Gridia h. no. 1; 18.00 mm, 3.80g, 12, ΜΗΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ. **fig. 45.** Obv. die 2 *

Boston

M. F. A.

Çesme h. no. 38; Boston 65.89, 3.46g, 12, [ΜΗ]ΝΟ[ΦΙΛΟΣ]. **fig. 46.** Obv. die 2 *

Group E (Pl. XVIII, figs. 1-28)

E. 1. Issues and die studies: This group comprises two issues bearing the names of ΖΗΝΙΣ (figs. 1-25), recorded in Maurogordato's study under Group 66b, and ΖΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ (figs. 26-28), recorded in his study under Group 66d. The ΖΗΝΙΣ issue is known from a total of 25 coins struck from three obverse and nine reverse dies, while the issue of ΖΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ is much smaller with only three known coins struck from two obverse dies and a single reverse die.

E. 2. General aspects and proposed dating: Stylistically issues in this group are dissimilar and types of ΖΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ are in a style which is closer to that of issues in the following group (Group F) rather than that of ΖΗΝΙΣ. Letter forms also show that ΖΗΝΙΣ struck coinage sometime earlier than ΖΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ, since some of his issues show the older letter form of *zeta* Ζ with vertical parallel bars (see figs. 10, 12, 16), while coins of ΖΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ only show the new form of Ζ.⁴⁷⁵ Though this evidence suggests that the ΖΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ issue would be chronologically closer to Group F, than that of the ΖΗΝΙΣ issue, I have chosen to classify it alongside the latter issue based on the fact that both issues share the same distinctive type of wreath, appearing in their reverse type. This depicts a wreath formed of two separate branches crossed at their ends and not bound with fillets as with earlier types (see p. 257). Issues in the next group replace the wreath by a dotted circle and obviously this marked typological change would have taken place shortly after ΖΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ had struck coinage.

⁴⁷⁵ Maurogordato, 1917, p. 341, states that ΖΗΝΩΝ (recorded in this study in Group C) was the last moneyer to use the older form of *zeta* Ζ but failed to notice that this also appears on coins of ΖΗΝΙΣ. In p. 346 he describes a transitional form of Ζ on issues of ΖΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ but we may note that this type also appears on some coins of ΖΗΝΙΣ e.g. figs. 6, 14. Note that the new letter form for *zeta* appears in Chian inscriptions from the late 2nd century BC and afterwards (see below).

Issues of ΖΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ are absent from any of the known hoards of this coinage.⁴⁷⁶ Two coins of ΖΗΝΙΣ were included in the Gridia hoard (figs. 7-8), both light weight issues which are similar to most other (later) drachms found in the same hoard bearing the name of ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ; for these issues, see below the discussion of the drachm group, pp. 264-5. The coins are corroded but their condition is not much different to drachms of ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ from the same hoard. This similar condition for coins of the two moneyers, combined with the fact they were produced with the same technique, suggests that ΖΗΝΙΣ would not have been striking a long time before ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ.⁴⁷⁷ Certainly the moneyers would not have been issuing coinage at the same time, in view of the typological and stylistic differences of their respective issues and the lack of any die links. A coin of regular weight signed by ΖΗΝΙΣ at Larisa was probably found in the same hoard as earlier Chian drachms of the same collection. It shows few signs of circulation suggesting a close date to issues of the early 1st century BC that made up the bulk of the known hoards composed of these drachms.

The likely presence of coins of ΖΗΝΙΣ in hoards dating to the early 1st century BC may account for the large number of coins of this issue that are known, since the three recorded obverse dies for this issue is not particularly large; some drachms of the earlier Group C were struck from the same number of dies but are known from a much smaller number of coins compared to the issue of ΖΗΝΙΣ.

A few coins of ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ, struck in the full silver weight, used the same obverse dies as ΖΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ.⁴⁷⁸ Other obverse dies of ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ also show an identical style as dies used by ΖΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ suggesting that the same die engraver may have produced dies for both

⁴⁷⁶ Kleiner, 'Cesme Hoard', p. 22, recorded this moneyer's name in the legend on coin no. 37 of the Cesme hoard, though this coin belongs to an issue of ΖΗΝΟΔΩΤΟΣ, and has been thus corrected in the present study (see the discussion above in Group C).

⁴⁷⁷ Note that in pp. 264-5 I discuss the possibility that these light weight issues may not have been struck at the time by ΖΗΝΙΣ but later by ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. Even if this is the case the fact that ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ had access to dies of ΖΗΝΙΣ may suggest that the two may have been close in date.

⁴⁷⁸ The obverse die of ΖΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ, Pl. XVIII, figs. 26-28, was used in issues of ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ, Pl. XX, fig. 38, 56.

moneyers.⁴⁷⁹ It would seem on this evidence that ΖΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ was close in date to ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. The reverse type on issues of ΖΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ depicts a new type of amphora which is identical to the one used on issues of Group F while ΖΗΝΙΣ has the older type. In the chapter on the typology (pp. 593-4) of the Chian amphora I discuss this type of amphora showing that it was produced at Chios during the early 1st century BC.

The average weight of coins of the ΖΗΝΙΣ issue showing few signs of circulation is 3.71g (14 coins), a weight similar to that of issues in Group D showing that these may be close in date to issues of this group. Two coins of ΖΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ were weighed and produced an average weight of 3.78g.

On the evidence discussed above I would suggest that the issue of ΖΗΝΙΣ probably dates at the end of the 2nd century BC with the ΖΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ issue struck later, around 100 BC.

⁴⁷⁹ The same die engraver responsible for dies of ΖΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ also produced the obverse dies of ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ, no. 4, 10-11

GROUP E c 120-100 BC

Moneyer: ZHNΙΣ: symbol. seated eagle or caps of Dioscuri. [M. 66b]

Obv.: sphinx seated l. on line. bunch of grapes in front.

Rev.: amphora in the centre; moneyer's name in field to the l., and ethnic legend XIOΣ in field r.

There is a break in the legend of the moneyer's name and is always rendered as ZH-NΙΣ; mint symbols appear in the break {a} seated eagle symbol or {b} the caps of the Dioscuri. The whole within a vine wreath consisting of two branches with ends crossed but not tied with fillets as with the other types. The letter *zeta* appears in legends of this issue in three different forms: i) the old letter form with the parallel vertical bars ii) a traditional form (see f. 475) iii) the form of Z

See the appendix for die study.

Av. weight of this issue is 3.71g (14 coins)

London

B. M.:

no 49; 3.44g, 1; ZH-NΙΣ. Letter form Z. ii. **Pl. XVIII, fig. 1 ***

Glasgow

G. U.:

H. c.; 3.67g, 1, ZH-NΙΣ; rev. type a. Letter form Z. ii. Coin is pierced. **fig. 2**

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:

no. 1559; 3.44g, 2, ZH-NΙΣ; rev. type a. Letter form Z. iii. **fig. 3 ***

Athens

E. c.:

19.00 mm, 3.67g, 12; ZH-NΙΣ; rev. type b. Letter form Z. ii. **fig. 4 ***

K. c.:

ZH-NΙΣ; rev. type b. Letter form Z. ii. **fig. 5**

Larisa

T. c.: weight not recorded, 2; ZH-NΙΣ; rev. type b. Letter form Z. ii. **fig. 6**

Chios

A. M.:

Gridia hoard no. 5: 18.00 mm, 3.10g, 2; ZH-NΙΣ; rev. type b. Letter form Z. iii. Light weight issue. **fig. 7**

Gridia hoard no. 6: 18.00 mm, 2.10g, 2; [ZH-N]ΙΣ; Letter form Z. i. Light weight issue. **fig. 8**

Istanbul

A. M.:

no. 6897; 18.00 mm, 3.09g, 12; ZH-[NΙΣ]; rev. type a. Letter form Z ?. Coin is worn and clipped. **fig. 9**

Paris

B. N.:

no. 3030; 3.77g, 12; ZH-NΙΣ; rev. type b. Letter form Z. i. **fig. 10 ***

no. 3031; 3.72g, 1, ZH-NΙΣ; rev. type a. Letter form Z. ii. coin is pierced **fig. 11**

D. L. c. no. 2677; 19.00 mm, 3.92g, 1, ZH-NΙΣ; rev. type b. Letter form Z. i. **fig. 12 ***

Berlin

M. K.:

I. B. 1900; ZH-NΙΣ; rev. type a. Letter form Z. iii. **fig. 13**

P. O. 1875: 3.45g, 12; ZH-NIΣ: rev. type b. Letter form Z, ii. **fig. 14 ***

New York

A. N. S.:

1978. 168. 21; 3.81g, 1; ZH-NIΣ: rev. type a; Letter form Z, iii: ex Burton. B. c. no. 1096. **fig. 15 ***

1978. 168. 22; 3.97g, 1; ZH-NIΣ: rev. type b; Letter form Z, i. ex Burton. B. c. no. 1097. **fig. 16 ***

1948. 77. 24; 3.77g, 12; ZH-NIΣ Letter form Z. iii. **fig. 24 ***

Boston

D. c. no. 2332: 3.29g, 12; ZH-NIΣ: rev. type a. Letter form Z, iii. Coin is doublestruck. **fig. 17**

Spink, N. Circ. Sept. 1973

no. 6882; 3.41g, die axis not recorded; ZH-NIΣ: rev. type b. Letter form Z, ii. **fig. 18 ***

Ex. Dr P. S. Szego coll.

no. 587: 3.73g, die axis not recorded; ZH-NIΣ: rev. type b. Letter form Z ? **fig. 19 ***

Ex Pozzi coll.

no. 2542; 3.30g, 6?, ZH-NIΣ: rev. type b. Letter form Z ? **fig. 20**

Kresz sales cata. no 132, 1965

no. 220; 3.75g, 3, ZH-NIΣ: rev. type a. Letter form Z, ii. **fig. 21 ***

Kolner, Auction 59, Nov. 1993

no. 47; 3.83g, no die axis, ZH-NIΣ. Letter form Z ? **fig. 22 ***

Knobloch, Auction 29, Nov. 1965

no. 150; ZH-NIΣ. Letter form Z, ii. **fig. 23**

Cederlind, 1992

no. 63; ZH-NIΣ. Letter form Z, i. **fig. 25**

Bayerische Vereinsbank Munzschayze 10, Nov. 1975

no. 137; 4.03g, ZH-NIΣ. Letter form Z, ii. **fig. 21 ***

Historia Numismata, Catalogue no. 94

no. 95; ZH-NIΣ. Letter form Z, ii. **fig. 21**

Moneyer: ZHNOΔΩΠΟΣ; symbol, palm branch. [M. 668]

Obv.: Type as above but within a dotted circle.

Rev.: Amphora in the centre, name of moneyer in field to the r., and ethnic legend XIOΣ in field to the l.

Palm branch symbol, which is depicted upside down, appears in the l. of the ethnic legend; all within wreath consisting of two branches that are crossed once at the ends.

av. weight of this issue is 3.78g (2 coins)

London

B. M.:

no 50; 3.70g, 12; ZHNOΔΩΠΟΣ. illustrated BMC 'Ionia', Pl. XXXII, 11. **fig. 26 ***

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:

no. 1561; 3.44, 12; ZHNOΔΩΠΟΣ. Coin is worn. **fig. 27**

N. York

A. N. S.:

1979. 168. 24; 3.86, 12; ZHNOΔΩΠΟΣ; ex Burton. Berry, no. 1099. **fig. 28 ***

Group F (Pl. XIX, figs. 1-27; Pl. XX, figs. 29-56; Pl. XXI, figs. 57-95; Pl. XXII, figs. 96-120)

F. 1. Issues and die studies: This group consists of the final issues of Chios on the ‘reduced’ Attic standard. Four different drachm issues have been identified bearing the names of ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ, ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ, ΚΟΡΩΝΟΣ, and ΜΕΝΕΚΛΗΣ. The ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ issue is known from 105 coins struck from 29 obverse and 33 reverse dies and represents by far the most voluminous precious metal issue of Chios after the Classical period. A die study of the recorded coins is found in the end of the coin catalogue.⁴⁸⁰

Drachms signed by ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ have been hoarded extensively (see below for known hoards containing this coinage) and the existence of unrecorded hoards is attested by the large numbers of these coins in an unworn condition found in major collections and coins appearing in increasing numbers on the international market.⁴⁸¹ The survival of great numbers of this drachm issue may be associated with the large scale of hoarding that seems to have occurred during the decades of the 80s and 70s as a result of the Mithridatic wars, a factor we already saw in the introduction for the series in pp. 210-3.

However in contrast to the large number of known drachms of ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ, coins of the other moneyers in this group are rarer. After ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ, the moneyer ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ seems to have struck the largest amount of coinage within this group. 13 coins have been recorded, struck from six obverse and seven reverse dies. Issues of ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ and ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ share three common obverse dies and appear to have issued coinage within a short interval of each other, or even together.⁴⁸² Coins of these two moneyers sharing common obverse dies also appear with

⁴⁸⁰ Die studies were produced from all 96 coins that are illustrated in this study. Only dies of five of these coins were not identified, and these are illustrated as figs. 27-30, and fig. 74. The first four formed part of the Gridia hoard and their obverses are badly corroded and were not cleaned; the other coin is badly damaged.

⁴⁸¹ Note that approximately five in every six Chian drachms, bearing civic types and struck after the end of the Classical period, that have appeared in auction or sales catalogues are signed by this moneyer.

⁴⁸² Recorded die links between ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ and ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ: obverse die no. 1 of ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ (coins illustrated in figs. 1, 12) with obverse die no. 1 of ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ (coins illustrated in figs. 14, 23, 24, 41, 46, 49, 54); obverse die

reverse types that are stylistically identical.⁴⁸³ Obviously we have here the work of the same die engravers producing dies for two different moneyers who probably minted together.

Ten out of fifteen Chian drachms in the 'Çesme' hoard and nine out of fourteen in the 'Gridia' hoard were signed by ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. Only a single coin from the ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ issue was found in each of the published hoards of 'Gridia' and 'Çesme'. This evidence suggests that at the time of the formation of the hoards coinage of ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ would have been available in greater numbers than that of ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ. The question remains to be answered to how two issues that were struck together have such a different representation in hoards of the period.

The issues of ΚΟΡΩΝΟΣ and ΜΕΝΕΚΛΗΣ used in common two stylistically identical obverse dies and the issues are typologically identical to those signed by ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ and ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ but no die links have been established between them. The obverse type of the ΚΟΡΩΝΟΣ and ΜΕΝΕΚΛΗΣ issues shows a sphinx which is very close stylistically to one appearing on a die used by ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ.⁴⁸⁴ It is clear that dies of the ΚΟΡΩΝΟΣ and ΜΕΝΕΚΛΗΣ issues were copying an ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ issue and probably the same die engraver produced their particular die. However these issues show the work of a different die engraver from those that produced the issues signed by ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ.

The reverse of these issues is always enclosed in a dotted circle which is a late typological development for this series since all earlier drachms show the reverse type within

no 2 of ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ (coins illustrated in figs. 2, 3) with obverse die no. 3 of ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ (coins illustrated in figs. 16, 32, 33, 43, 62, 63, 64, 65, 67, 68, 76, 77, 80, 83, 89, 102, 108, 109, 110); obverse die no 4 of ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ (coins are illustrated in figs. 5, 9) with obverse die no. 24 of ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ (coins illustrated in figs. 48, 72); obverse die no 5 of ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ (coin is illustrated in fig. 7) with obverse die no. 26 of ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ (coins illustrated in fig. 26). As I discuss below, bronze coinage contemporary with these drachms was also struck in common by two moneyers (ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ and ΕΥΞΕΝΟΣ).

⁴⁸³ Obverse die no. 1 of ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ, illustrated Pl. XIX, figs. 1, 12, was used by ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ in striking coins illustrated, Pl. XIX, figs. 14, 23 and Pl. XX, figs. 41, 46, 49, 54; obverse die no. 6 of ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ, that struck the coin illustrated in fig. 7 was used for striking the coin of ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ illustrated in fig. 26; obverse die no. 4 of ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ, was used in the issue of the coin illustrated in fig. 11 and coins of ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ, illustrated in Pl. XX, fig. 48 and Pl. XXI, fig. 72.

⁴⁸⁴ Compare ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ die no. 6, illustrated in Pl. XIX, fig. 8, with issues of ΚΟΡΩΝΟΣ Pl. XXII, fig. 115-117 and ΜΕΝΕΚΛΗΣ, fig. 118-120. This particular type was not copied for one of the dies of ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ.

a vine wreath. The weight of the coins is similar to that of issues in Groups D-E; the issues of the ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ and ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ group averaging 3.73g, and those of the ΚΟΡΩΝΟΣ and ΜΕΝΕΚΛΗΣ group, slightly lighter in weight at 3.65g. This weight matches that of issues in previous groups D-E.

F. 2. General aspects and proposed dating: These issues represent the only group where I have followed the classification proposed by Maurogordato; this is quite evident of how close the issues are stylistically.⁴⁸⁵ I have already noted the large numbers of coins of ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ present in hoards. Die studies have also established that the production of this issue was on a much greater scale compared to any other group struck by Chios following the end of the Classical period. What is particularly important is the fact that this influx of coinage may have occurred suddenly since there is no indication in the immediate preceding issues that the mint was about to increase its output of coinage. As we saw up until issues of this group were produced, the only relatively large issues were signed by few moneyers in Group C, ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝ, ΔΩΡΟΘΕΟΣ, and ΖΗΝΙΣ in Group E. All three moneyers struck coinage from three known obverse dies, a modest number of dies compared to the six obverse dies used by the moneyer ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ or the 29 of ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. This sudden increase in coinage would therefore have been linked to the payment of an extraordinary expense by the state, unmatched in size by any other expense in its recent past. A date of issue before c 70 BC (and during the 80s BC), as suggested by the date of the deposition of the ‘Gridia’ and ‘Çesme’ hoards (see pp. 210-3), presents us with a number of likely theories relating to the striking of these issues.

The coinage may be linked to expenses of the rebuilding of the city after the return of the exiled Chians in c 84 BC. It is known that the city suffered a large scale destruction and

⁴⁸⁵ See p. 355, Group 66γ. However note that he has also included in the same group two issues (ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ and ΣΤΑΦΥΛΟΣ) that belong to a later period and which I have classified as issues of the ‘reduced denarius’ standard (see below).

that a program of its rebuilding was undertaken some time afterwards (see the discussion in the chapter on the economy, pp. 658-60). However certain features of the coinage argue against such a late date. For one, drachms of ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ share the same obverse die and also style with drachms of another moneyer belonging to an earlier group ΖΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ -see Group E, discussed in p. 253- which is securely dated before c. 86 BC.⁴⁸⁶ It is unlikely that these earlier dies would have survived the destruction of 86 BC and then been reused again. The appearance of this coinage in hoards together with earlier Chian issues (from Groups, C, D, E, in the Cesme and the Gridia hoards; possibly also in the Larisa coin collection) makes it more probable that this may have been struck and put in circulation before c 86 BC, rather than after c 84 BC. Finally, as we saw, almost all coins of ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ and ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ are mostly unworn, showing signs of a very brief circulation. This suggests that their circulation was probably cut short unexpectedly, soon after their issue -since the mint would not have issued precious metal coinage to circulate briefly- and their coins were recalled and hoarded en masse. A likely event of this period that could be linked with an interruption in the circulation of coinage at Chios is the Pontic occupation and destruction of the city in 86 BC.

In my opinion events of this war may hold the key to explaining the increased volume of coinage issued by moneyers ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ-ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. It is likely that the coinage may represent funds raised by the Chian government from the confiscation of the property of all Roman residents and local Chians who fled to the protection of the Roman army in mainland Greece at the start of the war (see the historical background, p. 37-38). This large scale confiscation of property, following the evacuation of Romans and pro-Roman Chians from the island, would have brought large sums of money into the treasury of Chios (Hatzfeld, *Les Trafiquants*

⁴⁸⁶ Coins of ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ struck with the same obverse die as ΖΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ are illustrated in figs. 38 & 55.

Italiens dans l' Orient Hellenique, (Paris 1919), 46f),⁴⁸⁷ which may have been coined into money during 88-87 BC.⁴⁸⁸ If this is the case then the sudden increase in the coinage may have taken place at the time while either ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ or ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ were in charge of issues. The fact that some of their issues used dies in common is evidence that they were probably striking coinage together at one point (see above). As we saw, ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ also used a die of ΖΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ, an earlier moneyer, which is probably indicative of the fact that he was hard pressed to produce a large quantity of money.⁴⁸⁹

Another explanation for the issue of coinage under ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ is the levy of 2000 talents that Mithridates imposed on the Chians after they had surrendered to his general Zenobius in 86 BC. It is clear that what Mithridates was demanding from the Chians was a sum made up of coined money,⁴⁹⁰ and a large part of the bullion that was collected for this levy may have been coined with existing dies.⁴⁹¹ The study of this coinage showed that not only do we have an incredibly large number of dies -for the standards of Hellenistic Chios- but also that the dies were overworked since some coins have worn details and bear damage on the surface, though the coins themselves saw little or no circulation. Coins of ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ

⁴⁸⁷ There can be little doubt that the Roman residents and the Chians fleeing with them would have been considerably wealthy. Roman residents at Chios seem to have been involved in the island's most lucrative businesses (e.g. wine trade), see the chapter on the economy, pp. 641-642; local support for Rome in the Greek East came from the high classes, see p. 37.

⁴⁸⁸ Evidence that this policy might have generated the issue of a large volume of new coinage is the fact that Mithridates had demanded that the Chians sold the property and forwarded all proceeds to him. This would have been done in coinage struck at Chios. Appian, 47, 9-13, makes clear that the confiscation took place and properties were sold but this money was kept by the Chians who did not send it to Mithridates.

⁴⁸⁹ This die link indicates that the mint may have kept some dies from previous issues and did not dispose of them immediately after they were used.

⁴⁹⁰ This is inferred by the use of the term *talent* in the demand of the levy. During this period talent implied coined money; it is also certain that Mithridates -who at the time of the capture of Chios was waging a full scale war against Rome- would have wanted ready coined money to put at once in use for paying military expenses.

⁴⁹¹ Appian *Mithridatic Wars*, 47, states that the Chians in order to complete the amount demanded by Zenobius even added their women's jewellery and temple ornaments. Sarikakis, 1975, p. 364, thinks that these would have been priced in money and added to the levy. This is likely for the jewellery, but the ornaments would probably have been melted down and then struck as coinage

found in the 'Çesme' hoard are very closely die linked suggesting that they are from a batch of coins that had not circulated widely before being hoarded.⁴⁹²

Appian records that after the sum of 2000 talents had been made up Zenobius found that the standard was not what he had expected. This seems to suggest that though the number of coins the Chians collected to pay off this levy would have equaled theoretically in value the sum in talents, their weight was not correct. Assuming that Zenobius was genuinely given a lower weight, and this was not a strategy to enslave the Chians, it is obvious what might have happened. The Chian drachms collected in order to pay off the levy were struck on a lighter standard than the Attic and therefore their accumulative sum of 2000 talents would have weighed considerably less than if the coins were on the full Attic standard.⁴⁹³ Zenobius would have expected to receive talents of Attic weight, the standard used in the East (and Pontus), though Chios, as we saw, was one of the few areas using a lighter weight than the Attic.⁴⁹⁴

In this light the Chian coins in the Çesme hoard are more likely to represent part of the money collected to pay off the levy rather than booty seized by Pontic soldiers from individual Chians after their city was taken. Most of the levy would have been redistributed among the soldiers of Zenobius which would explain why the coins of the Çesme hoard are die linked. Based on the above considerations I would hazard in suggesting that the majority of issues of Group F probably date with some accuracy in 87-86 BC. The coinage was particularly large since the state may have produced money after the confiscation and, following the surrender

⁴⁹² Four coins of ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ in this hoard were struck with same obverse die (obv. die, no. 3); these are: no. 65.84, Çesme hoard, no. 26; no. 65.93, Çesme hoard, no. 32; no. 65.96, Çesme hoard, no. 33; 3.96, 12; no. 65.96, Çesme hoard, no. 33. The last two coins were also struck with the same reverse die (rev. die, no. 13).

⁴⁹³ Note that the weight would have been even less if the Chians were tempted to add to the levy some of the light weight drachms that seem to have been struck at the time (which I discuss immediately below).

⁴⁹⁴ Compare also the demand on Antiochus III by Rome that he pay his fine of 12,000 talents, imposed by the peace treaty at Apamea, in 'silver coinage of the full Attic weight' (αργυρίου αττικού ἀρίστου), Polybius XXI, 42, 19.

to Zenobius, additional amounts of coinage may have been further struck in order to complete the sum of money and pay off the levy of Mithridates.

F. 3. Light weight drachms: A number of coins from the later groups (E and F) of the series on the reduced Attic standard are on a significantly lighter weight than that of the rest of the coinage in the series. The majority of these coins originate from the Gridia hoard with a few others recorded outside this hoard.⁴⁹⁵ These coins have the appearance of official issues since they are struck from the same dies as regular weight issues. They are not broken or worn to explain the loss of weight and are struck on the same module as the other coins, precluding any possibility that they may have been struck as fractions of the drachm. I suspect that their silver was of poor quality, probably adulterated with base metal. However they are not silver plated issues since they have a large silver content and are therefore unlikely to have been unofficial forgeries (for such a forged coin see the ΕΡΜΟΦΑΝΤΟΣ issue).

The discovery of most coins in a single hoard (Gridia) together with coins struck on the correct weight suggests that the coins were not dumped there as worthless but that the owner considered them as valuable. It is conceivable that whoever deposited them believed these to be of good silver.

The majority of coins bear the name of ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ but there are also examples signed by ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ and ΖΗΝΙΣ (see the last footnote). This suggests that their issue was on a wide scale and involved more than a pair of dies. Some of the light weight issues of ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ used the same obverse dies of ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ a feature which copies the regular weight issues of these moneyers which are also struck from a number of common obverse dies. The use of official dies and the sharing of dies between different moneyers that are known to have struck regular weight drachms jointly, suggests that these lighter issues were almost certainly struck by the mint and probably officially sanctioned

⁴⁹⁵ ΖΗ-ΝΙΣ: (Gridia hoard, no. 5: 3.10g, no. 6: 2.10g), also fig. 17: 3.29g, fig. 20: 3.30g; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ: (Gridia hoard, no. 8: 2.30g, no. 9: 2.60g, no. 10: 2.50g, no. 11: 2.50g), also fig. 49: 2.82g, fig. 87: 3.13g, fig. 98: 3.06g; ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ: Pl. XIX, fig. 4: 2.77g.

As with regular weight issues of Group F the light weight coins should be considered within the context of the 1st Mithridatic war. It is tempting to associate their issue with the levy collected for Mithridates, a possible attempt by the Chian authorities to include a proportion of lesser weight money as payment of the levy. If this is the case then the scheme, as we saw, was a total failure since even though the correct sum of coinage was collected the weight fell short of that demanded. Indication that these coins may have been part of the levy comes from the find of such a light weight coin in the region of Bolu, in northern Asia Minor, and close to Pontus, the kingdom of Mithridates (see the coin catalogue), which is likely to have been brought there by a Pontic soldier returning home from the war or by a Chian who was banished to this region alongside his fellow citizens in 86 BC (Ponto-Herakleia is also located close by the region where the Chian coin was recovered).

F. 4. Epigraphic evidence: A number of patronymics of women recorded in an inscription of the 1st century BC, which is considered to be a record of money contributions towards the foundation of a sanctuary,⁴⁹⁶ are identical with the names of moneyers striking issues in Group C-F. The unusual name of ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ appears as a patronymic in this catalogue and his identification with the namesake moneyer of Group F has already been proposed by Forrest.⁴⁹⁷ Other patronymics appearing in the same inscription alongside ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ include ΖΗΝΩΝ and ΖΗΝΙΣ.⁴⁹⁸ Both names are found in drachms of earlier groups with the former on issues of Group C and the latter on Group E.

⁴⁹⁶ Forrest, 1966, pp. 197-206. The inscription appears in pp. 199-200, and is dated to the 1st century BC.

⁴⁹⁷ Α[Σ]ΠΑΣΙΑ daughter of Δ[Ε]ΡΚΥΛΟΣ, line 7. Forrest, p. 200. The name ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ is rare in Ancient Greece, though it does appear in a number of inscriptions from Attica dating over a period of centuries, see Frazer-Mathews, *Lexicon-Attica*, p. 102. This may suggest that the Chian of this name could have had ancestors from Athens.

⁴⁹⁸ ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΟΔΩΡΑ daughter of ΖΗΝΙΣ, line 13 and ΠΑΣΩ daughter of ΖΗΝΙΣ, line 23.

GROUP F c 100-86 BC [M. 66γ]

Obv.: sphinx seated to the l.; bunch of grapes in front.

Rev.: amphora in the centre; name of moneyer in the field r; ethnic legend ΧΙΟΣ in the field l.; all within a circle consisting of big dots.

Av. weight of ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ and ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ (76 coins): 3.73g

Moneyer: ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ: symbol, caduceus.

The reverse bears two different types: a) amphora in centre; name of moneyer to the l. and ethnic legend to the r.; caduceus symbol to the r. of the ethnic legend. b) amphora in centre; name of moneyer in the field to the l. and ethnic legend in the r.; caduceus symbol to the l. of the ethnic legend.

Cambridge

F. M.:

M. c., no. 8372; 3.21, 12. ΑΠΕΛ[ΛΗΣ], rev. type a. Coin is worn and damaged. **fig. Pl. XIX, fig. 1**, O. 1, the reverse is too damaged for the die to be identified.

Chios

A. M.:

Gridia h. no. 7; 20.00 mm, 3.50g, 2; ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ, rev. type b. **fig. 2**, O. 2 R. 1 *

Larisa

T. c.; weight not recorded, 12; ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ, rev. type b. Coin weakly struck on the upper l. side. **fig. 3**, O. 2 R. 1

Ankara

Anatolian Civilizations Museum:

Found at Bolu, 1970 VIII-1911-6/1; 18mm, 2.77g, 1, rev. type b. ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ. **fig. 4**, O. 3 R. 2

Paris

B. N.:

no. 3023; 21.00 mm, 3.98g, 1; rev. type b. **fig. 5**, O. 4 R. 3 *

Munich

M. K.:

19.00 mm, 3.79g *

Berlin

M. K.:

F. 1873; 3.96g, 1; ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ, rev. type b. illustration available, O. 4 R. 6 *

N. York

A. N. S.:

1968. 57. 101; 3.40g, 12; ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ, rev. type b. **fig. 6**, O. 3 R. 4 *

1978. 168. 23; 3.79, 12; ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ, rev. type a; ex Burton. B. c. no 1098. **fig. 7**, O. 5 R. 5 *

Boston

M. F. A.:

Çesme h. no. 30, Boston 65.91; 3.82g, 3 ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ, rev. type a. **fig. 8**, O. 5 R. 5 *

Drouot sales cata. 27-2-1961

no. 222; 3.50g, die axis not recorded; ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ, rev. type b. **fig. 9**, O. 4 R. 6 *

Kresz sales cata. no. 152. 1971

no. 192; 3.70g, die axis not recorded; ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ, rev. type b. **fig. 10**, O. 3 R. 7 *

Sotheby London auct. cata. 12-1974

no. 105; 3.59g, die axis not recorded; ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ, rev. type b. **fig. 11**, O. 4 R. 6 *

Sternberger Zurich, auct. XVIII, 11-1986

no. 159; 3.78g, die axis not recorded; ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ, rev. type a. **fig. 12**, O. 1 R. 5 *

K. Borek, list no. 72, March 1985; rev. type a. O. 3, R. 7

Bayerische Vereinsbank, Munz. 10, Nov. 1975

no. 138, 4.007g; rev. type a. O. 3, R. 7

Moneyer: ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ; symbol. cornucupia. [M. 66γ]

London

B. M.:

no. 54 C. M. 1977-7-4-1; 3.79g, 12; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. illustrated in Carradice, 1995. **fig. 13**, O. 23 R. 21 *

no. 55; 3.44g, 1; ΔΕΡΚΥ[ΛΟ]Σ. **fig. 14**, O. 1 R. 1 *

no. 459{ex V. Aulock coll. no. 2279}; 3.81g, 12; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 15**, O. 2 R. 15 *

no. 460{ex V. Aulock coll. no. 2278}; 3.92g, 12; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 16**, O. 3 R. 16 *

K. c.:

3.59g, 12; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 17**, O. 4 R. 17 *

Cambridge

F. M.:

M. c., no. 8370; 3.39g, 12; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 18**, O. 3 R. 8 *

Mos. c.; 3.51g, 3; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 19**, O. 5 R. 2 *

L. c., no. 4609; 3.61g, 1; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 20**, O. 5 R. 9 *

L. c., no. 4608; 3.66g, 3; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 21**, O. 6 R. 17 *

Oxford

A. M.:

3.43g, 1; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 22**, O. 7 R. 18 *

Glasgow

G. U.:

H. c.; 3.41g, 1; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 23**, O. 1 R. 1 *

C. c., no. 3175; 3.74g, 2; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟ[Σ]. **fig. 24**, O. 1 R. 19 *

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:

no. 1562; 3.83g, 12; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 25**, O. 2 R. 20 *

Turin

A. M.:

no. 4140; 3.93g, die axis not recorded, no illustration *

Chios

A. M.:

Gridia h., no. 8; 17.00 mm. 2. 30g, 12; [ΔΕΡΚ]ΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 26**, O. 26 R. ?

Gridia h., no. 9; 18.00 mm. 2.60g, 12; ΔΕΡ[ΚΥΛΟ]Σ. **fig. 27**, O. 11 R. 20

Gridia h., no. 10; 18.00 mm. 2.50g, 3; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 28**, O. ? R. ?

Gridia h., no. 11; 17.00 mm. 2.50g, 3; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **Pl. XX, fig. 29**, O. 8 R. 5

Gridia h., no. 12; 16.00 mm. 3.80g, 12; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 30**, O. ? R. ? *

Gridia h., no. 13; 20.00 mm. 3.60g, 3; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 31**, O. 5 R. ? *

Gridia h., no. 14; 20.00 mm. 3.50g, 12; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 32**, O. 3 R. 22 *

Larisa

T. c.; weight and die axis not recorded; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ ⁴⁹⁹

Paris

B. N.:

no 3025; 3.54g, 1; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ*

D. c. , no. 2686; 3.69g, 12; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 33**, O ? R. 10 *

D. N. c., no. 629; 3.65, 9; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 34**, O. 8 R. *

D. L. c., no. 2675; 4.02, 12; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 35**, O. R. 4 *

D. L. c., no. 2676; **fig. 36**, O. 9 R.?

Vienna

K. M.:

no. 17920; 3.47, 12; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 37**, O. 2 R. 27 *

Berlin

M. K.:

F. 1873; 3.75g, 11; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ . **fig. 94** O. 24 R. 31 *

L. 1906; 3.71g, 12; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 38**, O. 25 R. 26 *

L. 1906; 3.65g, 1; ΔΕΡ[Κ]ΥΛΟΣ. coin is pierced. **fig. 39**, O. 8 R. ?

M. P. K. A.:

A. S. c., no. 69; 3.65, 12; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 40**, O. 10 R. 7 *

Leipzig

L. U.:

no. 1216; 3.56, 12; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 41**, O. 1 R. 28 *

Lockett coll.:

no. 2865; 3.73g, 3; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 42**, O. 11 R. 9 *

Sotheby, Auction, Dec. 1974 (ex Argenti coll.)

no. 106; 3.73g; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 43**, O. 3 R. 8 *

private collection, no. 447, no further details available; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 44**, O. 11 R. 22

private collection, no. 43, no further details available; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 45**, O. 11 R. ?

Ex O' Hagan coll. {ex Montagu coll} Sotheby's auction 1908:

no. 589; 55, die axis not recorded; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 46**, O. 1 R. 3

Dr. Peus cata. no. 318 auct. May 1987

no. 1245; 3.87g, die axis not recorded; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 47**, O. 9 R? *

Dr Peus cata. no. 340 auct. Nov. 1994

no. 373; 3.91g, die axis not recorded; [ΔΕ]ΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 48**, O. 24 R. 29 *

Kreb, cata. no. 130. June 1964

no. 289; 2.82g, 3; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟ[Σ]; coin is worn and possibly a light weight issue. **fig. 49**, O. 1? R?

Kresz sales cata. no 123, 1962

no. 169a; weight and die axis not recorded; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 50**, O. 10 R. 7

Kresz sales cata. no 127, 1963

no. 488; 3.62g, dia axis not recorded; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. Coin is overstr. on earlier Chian issue, possibly of ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ. **fig. 51**, O. 12 R. 7? *

⁴⁹⁹ No cast of this coin was taken and only the reverse could be studied.

Kresz sales cata. no 132, 1965
no. 221; weight and die axis not recorded; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 52**, O. 23 R. 30

M. Med. cata. Oct. 1987
no. 115; 3.68g, die axis not recorded; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 53**, O. 13 R. 2 *

M. MAG., cata. no. 205, 1960
no. 348; weight and die axis not recorded; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 54**, O. 1 R. 3

M. MAG., cata. no. 408, Feb. 1979
no. 8; weight and die axis not recorded; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 55**, O. 25 R. 22

Shlessinger, auct. 4-2-1935
no. 1299; 3.50g, die axis not recorded; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 56**, O. 4 R.? *

Auction of a private coll. by A. G. Basel auct. no. 4, 26-11-1974
no. 145; 3.78g, die axis not recorded; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **Pl. XXI, fig. 57**, O. 13 R? *

Hess-Leu cata. no. 22, 1963
no. 140; 3.74g, die axis not recorded; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 58**, O. 14 R. 15 *

C. S. Bennet coll. Auctioned by Naville, Geneva, 1924
no. 1501; 3.63g, ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 59**, O. 15 R. 14 *

M. Zentr. auct. Nov. 1983
no. 111; 3.70g, die axis not recorded; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 60**, O. 8 R. 24 *

Monetarium Zurich. Liste no. 55, 1981
no. 97; 3.75g, die axis not recorded; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 61**, O. 10 R. 25 *

N. L. Munchen. Auct. no. 22, May 1982
no. 377; 3.61g, die axis not recorded; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 62**, O. 3 R. 10 *

Adolph Hess, Luzern, kat. 207, 1931
no. 577; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 63**, O. 3 R. 10

Kricheldorf, cata. no. 7, 1959
no. 82; 3.75g, die axis not recorded; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 64**, O. 3 R. 11 *

Drouot, sales cata. 27-2-1961
no. 173; 3.70g, 3; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 65**, O. 3 R. 11*

ex John Baton coll. N.Y. Dec. 1988
no. 137; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 66**, O. 11 R. 16

no. 205 no references available. **fig. 67**, O. 3 R. 10

Journal of N. F. A. Autumn 1974, p. 60
ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 68**, O. 3 R. 23

ex Weber coll. {ex Rollin and Feuarent} acquired and sold by Spinks London
no. 6270; 3.78g, die axis not recorded; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. , O. R. ?

N. F. A. auct. X, Sept. 1981
no. 182; 3.71g, die axis not recorded; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 69**, O. 17 R.?*

N. F. A. cata., autumn 1974
no. 206; weight and die axis not recorded; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 70**, O. 18 R.?

N. F. A. auct. XIV, Nov. 1984
no. 153; 3.67g, die axis not recorded; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 71**, O. 8 R. 5 *

Ex Dr Novak coll. {auctioned in Sep. 1994}
no. 335; 3.77g, die axis not recorded; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 72**, O. 10 R. 3 *

Kresz, Auction 105, Sept. 1957
no. 52: ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ **fig. 73**, O. 8 R. 5

Alex Malloy Auction VI, March 1976
no. 112: ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ **fig. 74**, O.? R. ?

The Numismatic Auction Ltd. Ancient coins auction 3, Dec 1985
no. 132: ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ **fig. 75**, O. 10 R. 7

Toderi Numismatica List 4, Dec 1975
no. 106: ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ **fig. 76**, O. 3 R. 4

Davissons cat. 4, 1992,
no. 2487; 3.88g; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ **fig. 77**, O. 3 R. 4

France Numismatique 24
no. 96: ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ **fig. 78**, O. 8 R. 24

Frank Kovacs, Ancient Coins and Antiquities, March 1992, fix priced cat. 14
no. 23: ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ **fig. 79**, O. 12 R. 6

Joseph Lepczyk auction Sept. 1979
3.72g; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ **fig. 80**, O. 3 R. 4

Stacks Autumn Sale 1980
no. 161: ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ **fig. 81**, O. 10 R. 81

C. Ce. mail bid auction Aug. 1989
no. 24: ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ **fig. 82**, O. 4 R. ?

Classical Numismatic Group auction 35, Sept. 1995
no. 299, 3.55g; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ **fig. 83**, O. 3 R. 8 *

Frank Kovacs, fixed price list 28, Spring 1995
no. 31: ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ **fig. 84**, O. 24 R. 3

Dr Peus katalog. 300, Oct. 1980
no. 127; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ **fig. 85**, O. 8 R. 32

Giessener Munzhandlung Dieter Gorny, Munchen, April 1992
no. 402, 4.01g; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ **fig. 86**, O. 8 R. ?

A. E. Calu, Frankfurt-a-M, auction 66, 9-5-30
no. 325, 3.13g; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ **fig. 87**, O. 12 R. ?

Hesperia Art, Bulletin XXVI
no. 31: ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ **fig. 88**, O. 15 R. 14

Giessener Munzhandlung, D. Gorny, Munchen, April 1992
no. 402, 4.01g; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ **fig. 89**, O. 3 R. 23

private collection: ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ **fig. 90**, O. 8 R. 5

private collection: ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ **fig. 91**, O. 2 R. 12

Lagerlist no. 36, June 1994
no. 362: ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ **fig. 92**, O. 25 R. 26

private collection: ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ **fig. 93**, O. 12 R. 6

New York

A. N. S.:
1944, 100, 47231; 3.63g, 12: ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. Pl. XXII, **fig. 96**, O. 11 R. 16 *

1948. 77. 23; 3.94g, 3; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 97**, O. 20 R. 14 *
1965. 168. 30; 3.06g, 12; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 98**, O. R.
1978. 82. 63; 3.85g, 12; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 99**, O. 28 R. *

Boston

M. F. A.:

no. 65.82, Çesme h. , no. 24; 3.68, 12; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 100**, O. 29 R. corroded *
no. 65.83, Çesme h. , no. 25; 3.65, 2; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 101**, O. 29 R. corroded *
no. 65.84, Çesme h. , no. 26; 3.70, 12; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 102**, O. 3 R. corroded *
no. 65.85, Çesme h. , no. 27; 3.60, 12; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 103**, O. 8? R. corroded *
no. 65.87, Çesme h. , no. 28; 3.59, 3; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 104**, O. 28 R. corroded *
no. 65.88, Çesme h. , no. 29; 3.45, 12; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 105**, O. R. 31 *
no. 65.91, Çesme h. , no. 30; 3.82, 3; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 106**, O. 14 R. 15 *
no. 65.92, Çesme h. , no. 31; 3.59, 12; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 107**, O. 28 R. corroded *
no. 65.93, Çesme h. , no. 32; 3.50, 3; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 108**, O. 3 R. corroded *
no. 65.96, Çesme h. , no. 33; 3.96, 12; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 109**, O. 3 R. 13 *
no. 65.96, Çesme h. , no. 33; 3.96, 12; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 110**, O. 3 R. 13 *

D. c., no. 2326; {bought in Athens in 1956}; 3.79g, 2; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 111**, O. R. *
D. c., no. 2327; {ex Baldwin 1954}; 3.69g, 12; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 112**, O. 28 R. *
D. c., no. 2328 {ex Cahn auct. cata. 27-2-1933}; 3.61g, 3; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 113**, O. 28 R. *
D. c., no. 2329 {ex Cahn auct. cata. 27-2-1933}; 3.50g, 12; ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 114**, O. R. *

Average weight of issues of ΚΟΡΩΝΟΣ and ΜΕΝΕΚΛΗΣ: 3.65g (4 coins).

Two obverse dies shared by both issues

Moneyer: ΚΟΡΩΝΟΣ

Rev. type as above but symbol a pair of stars

One reverse die

Vienna

K. M.:

no. 38629 {ex Berlin M. K.}; 18.00 mm, 3.56g, 12; ΚΟΡΩΝΟΣ.⁵⁰⁰ coin is worn. **fig. 115** O. 1

Berlin

M. K.:

ex Molthein coll.: 20.00 mm, 3.65g, 12; ΚΟΡΩΝΟΣ. **fig. 116** * O. 2

New York

A. N. S.:

1944.100.47232; 3.69g, 12; ΚΟΡΩΝΟΣ. **fig. 117** * O. 2

Moneyer: ΜΕΝΕΚΛΗΣ. Two star symbols appear in the rev. type to the l. of the mag. name

Berlin

M. K.:

L. 1906 no. 6841; 19.00 mm, 3.57g, 11; ΜΕΝΕΚΛΗΣ. **fig. 118** * O. 1

Former Pozzi coll.

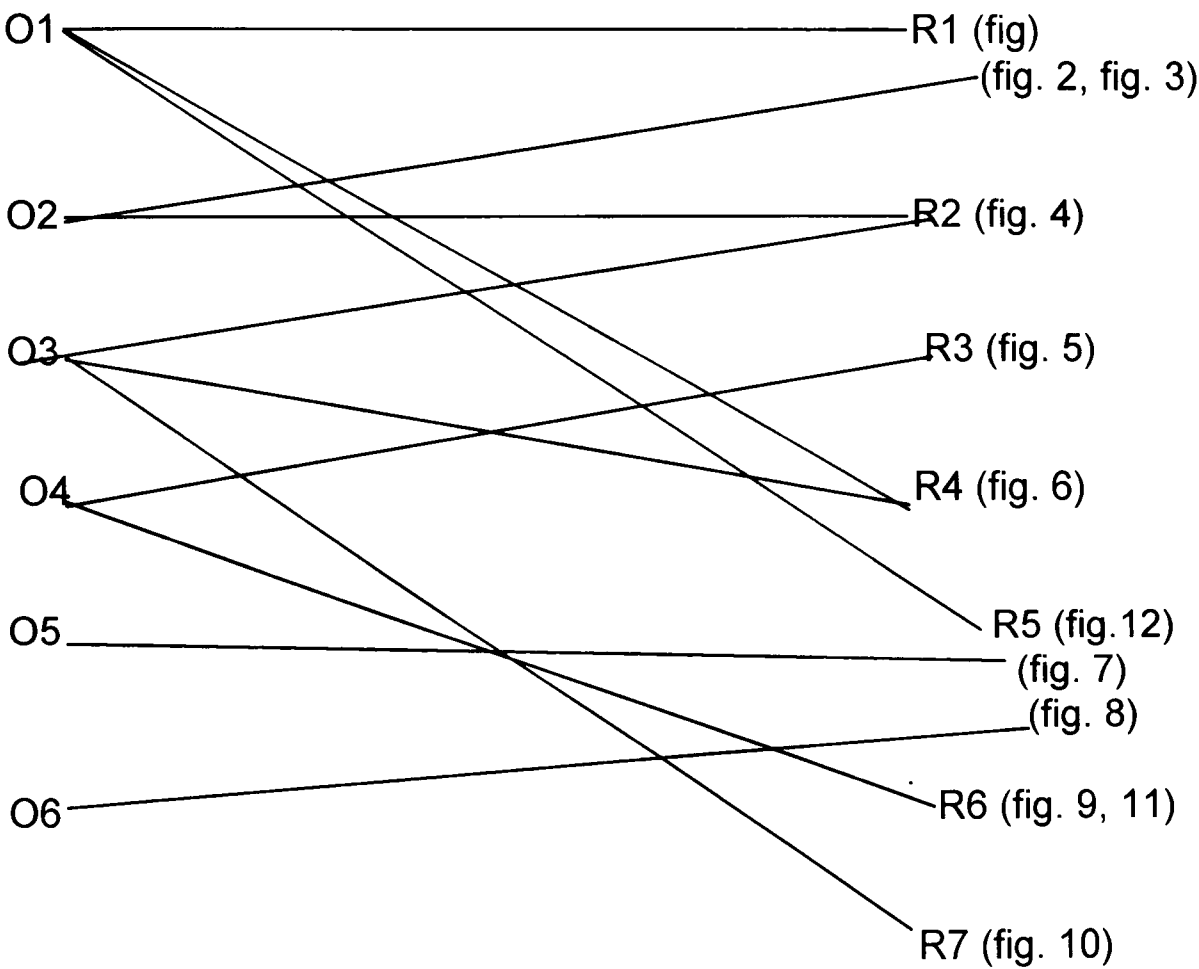
no. 2542; 12, ΜΕΝΕΚΛΗΣ. **fig. 119** * O. 2

Former Lockett coll.

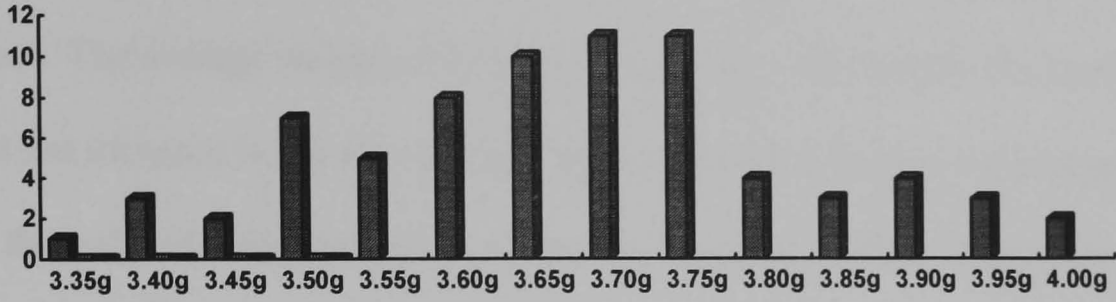
no. 2864; 3.69g, 12, ΜΕΝΕΚΛΗΣ. **fig. 120** * O. 2

⁵⁰⁰ The name of the moneyer on this coin was wrongly recorded by Imhoof-Blumer, 1890, as ΚΟΝΩΝΟΣ

DIE LINKS OF REDUCED ATTIC DRACHMS: ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ



DERKULOS



7. Silver fractional issues of the drachm (Pl. XXXII):

Five coins are known belonging to a single denominational fraction of the drachm and the evidence of metrology and style suggest they are contemporary with drachms on the reduced Attic standard. The average weight of three coins is 1.18g. -the weight of a fourth coin which is worn was not included in the average- and approximately a third of the average weight of a drachm on the reduced Attic, and should therefore be considered as diobols or thirds of the drachm.⁵⁰¹ Chios does not seem to have struck any other fractional denominations of the drachms, but I have already discussed the probability that drachms of the reduced Attic series that are broken in half may have circulated as hemidrachms.⁵⁰² A total of two obverse and three reverse dies were used in these issues.

Unusually for the Chian coinage the diobols lack a moneyer's names, and only bear the ethnic legend; this as I discuss below may hold wider political significance and constitutes the earliest of only two known cases before the late 1st century AD -the other case is found in issues of Series 21- where coins were struck on the authority of the *demos* of Chios rather than by a moneyer on behalf of the city.

Two of the diobols (figs. 2 and 3) bear the ethnic legend ΧΙΩΝ instead of ΧΙΟΣ which would associate them with the drachm issue of the moneyer ΓΛΑΥΚΟΣ bearing the same format for the ethnic legend.⁵⁰³ One of these drachms (fig. 2) also shares an identical style with this drachm issue. The drachm of ΓΛΑΥΚΟΣ belongs to one of the earliest issues in the series (Group A), dating to the late 3rd or early 2nd century BC and the diobol would probably

⁵⁰¹ Maurogordato, 1917, p. 245-6 was the first to correctly identify their denomination. A drachm is known to have been made up of six obols in the Greek world. On this topic see the chapter in this study on the bronze denominations at Chios, p. 539.

⁵⁰² One of the drachms in the Cesme hoard was broken; so was a coin of ΠΑΤΑΙΚΙΩΝ of Group B in the Copenhagen collection (no. 1627) illustrated in this study Pl. XV, fig. 17.

⁵⁰³ The ethnic legend is spelt with the letter omicron ο and not the omega ω as in the plural genitive ΧΙΩΝ the common format used by mints of Greek mints for inscribing the ethnic. Maurogordato, 1917, p. 245, supposed that this is possibly a blunder on the part of the die engraver.

belong to the same period. The other known coin of this denomination displays only the first letter of the ethnic, the letter X (see fig. 1) but shares the same obverse die with one of the XION issues (fig. 2) suggesting that these issues are contemporary. One of the diobols (fig. 3) has a style identical to that of issues of Group B, another early drachm group on the reduced Attic standard.

It would appear that, based on these stylistic similarities, all silver diobols were briefly issued alongside the earliest drachms in the series, belonging to Groups A-B, and none seem to have been struck after the cessation of the issue of drachms of Group B.⁵⁰⁴ A further link with another Chian coinage of the late 3rd-early 2nd century BC is provided from the depiction of the bunch of grapes symbol in the reverse type to the left of the amphora type. This unusual positioning of the mint symbol is found on chalkoi of Series 17 signed by moneyers ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ (Pl. XIII, figs. 6-8) and ΤΙΜΑΝΔΡΟΣ (Pl. XIII, fig. 14).

These issues are the only known silver fractions of the drachm struck at Chios during the Hellenistic period and their proposed date of issue coincides with the widespread use of similar silver fractional denominations in Ionia.⁵⁰⁵ The coins may be associated in particular with a fractional denomination struck at Erythrae and dating about the same period as the Chian issues (early 2nd century BC). Its types, like the ones of Chios, lack a moneyer's name or monogram and a few coins only show the first letter of the ethnic (Kinns, 1980, p. 344, AR II, no. 81). Such issues are thought to have been struck to replace earlier large bronze

⁵⁰⁴ Maurogordato, pp. 245-6, noted the fact that the issues are stylistically linked with both ΓΛΑΥΚΟΣ and drachms of Group B. However he had (wrongly) dated these drachms to the period 84-30 BC and consequently proposed the same date for the thirds of the drachm, see 1917, p. 213 and p. 245-6 (see pp. 215-20 of the present study where I discuss his wrong proposed dates for the drachms).

⁵⁰⁵ Other cities that issued silver fractions of the drachm during the early 2nd century BC include cities in Ionia. Teos (c 204-190 BC) and Erythrae (c 190-180 BC), see Kinns, 1980, p. 344. Many cities of the Greek mainland were also issuing silver fractions of the drachm during the late 3rd century BC and the first half of the 2nd century BC; see Morkholm, 1991, p. 9, for a discussion of this type of issues. Note that during the period Maurogordato, *ibid*, placed chronologically these issues (84-30 BC) Greek mints had long ceased striking silver fractions of the drachm and replaced them by large bronze denominations. On this topic see also the discussion in this study in the chapter on bronze denominations at Chios.

denominations, though this does not seem to have been the case for Chios which did not strike a large bronze denomination prior to the issue of these silver issues.⁵⁰⁶

⁵⁰⁶ Kinns, 1987, p. 110, considers that silver fractions of the drachm may have been issued to replace large bronze coinage. Chios did not strike a bronze coinage larger than the trichalkon before the 1st century BC.

THIRD OF DRACHMS:

O.: sphinx seated l.; dotted flan

R.: amphora in centre, bunch of grapes l. and ethnic legend XION or X in the field r.

London

B. M.:

no. 461; 1.10g, 1, XION. **fig. 1** obv. die 1. rev. die 1

Munich

M. K.:

1.27g, 12; XION. **fig. 2** obv. die 1. rev. die 2

Berlin

M. K.:

I. B. 1900; 1.05g, X. obv. die 1. rev. die 3

I. B. 1900; 1.19g, XION. **fig. 3** obv. die 2. rev. die 1

Former Von Aulock collection

Nachtrage, no. 8022; 1.08g, X. ex Preisliste Munzen und Medaillen A. G. 229, 1963, no. 489

II. 9. SERIES 19 (Pls. XXIV-XXVII)

1. General aspects: Issues belonging to Series 19 represent the base metal currency that was struck alongside drachms of the ‘reduced’ Attic standard (see pp. 203-71) and the first group of drachms on the ‘reduced denarius’ standard (these drachms are discussed in the following chapter). 16 different names appear on issues of this series and 185 coins are recorded here. The number of coins is high for a Chian series and suggests that it would probably have been the second most common bronze coinage of this mint after Series 17.

Confirmation that this coinage was struck on a large scale is also found in the high die count for the series, amounting to 62 obverse dies.⁵⁰⁷ Most moneyers have recorded between five and ten coins each, and it is relatively few that share the bulk of the coinage. This applies especially for moneyers in charge of later issues of Series 19, since from a total of six groups recorded, the last two account for more than half of all known coins and dies (Groups E and F include 112 coins, struck from 36 obverse dies).

As with Series 17 the most visible typological development for these issues is the depiction of mint symbols in various positions in the obverse or the reverse type. I have used this characteristic feature as the main criterion for classifying the individual issues into groups and these are arranged in a chronological order and dated with some accuracy on different types of evidence discussed below.

Issues of different groups were struck on a similar weight and diameter. Stylistic changes are limited due to the small flans of this coinage, which did not allow die engravers to show small detail in the design of the types. Only between issues separated by a long period has it been possible to observe stylistic differences in the obverse type bearing the sphinx. The

⁵⁰⁷ The die study included most known specimens of this series suggesting that the number of obverse dies quoted here is probably representative of the original number of dies used.

reverse type seems to have become standard for all groups showing little or no stylistic change, with only the occasional appearance of a mint symbol or two decorative balls on the top of the wreath always decorating the flan. As I discuss in the chapter on typology (pp. 591-2), the Chian amphora changed little over the period coinciding with most groups of Series 19, at least down to Group E (see p. 592), and therefore stylistic differences are hardly visible for the reverse amphora type of different issues within this series.

The evidence discussed below in this section suggests that the striking of Series 19 may have covered a period of almost a century and the moneyers are not closely linked, as was the case for Series 17. With a single exception (noted below, in p. 281), die links are unknown between different moneyers, further indicating that the issues were struck intermittently and with long intervals between. Considering the time span of Series 19 the number of known moneyers is very limited which would suggest that during most of this period the majority of bronze coins in circulation at Chios would have been worn. In contrast to Series 17, there is no evidence that these issues were hoarded to any extent at Chios and the survival of a relatively large number of coins may be attributed to the widespread and long term circulation of this coinage outside Chios, where most of the provenanced coins were found (on the circulation of this coinage abroad, see also the discussion on the economy, pp. 665-4).

2. Denominations: Only two denominations have been identified for Series 19. These are, type 19.I, representing a common issue struck on a flan of 12.00 mm and an average weight of 2.20g, and its rare fraction -only seven coins are known from three issues- of type 19.II, measuring approximately 8 mm in diameter and averaging 1.00g in weight. Coins of the largest and common denomination were struck on the same module as the dichalkon of Series 17 (17.II) and also the same denomination of Series 18 (18.I). It would seem that this issue would also have been of the dichalkon value. Early issues of 19.I may have been issued to

replace or supplement dichalka of Series 17-18 that were still in circulation during the first half of the 2nd century BC. The fraction to the common denomination (19.II) also shares the same standard as the chalkoi of Series 17-18 suggesting that this would also have been of the chalkous denomination.⁵⁰⁸ No issue of the module of the trichalkon was struck in Series 19 and it seems that the early stages of production of this series may have overlapped with the prolonged circulation of the trichalkon of Series 17. The evidence suggests that these coins would have dropped completely out of circulation by the middle of the 2nd century BC, as a result of the large scale hoarding and the wear sustained over their long period of circulation. However these were not replaced by new issues of the trichalkon, leaving the dichalkon of Series 19 as the largest bronze denomination in circulation at Chios during the late Hellenistic period.

3. Group division and die links:

Group A (Pl. XXIII, figs. 1-11): Before the sphinx, and in front of its paws, we find a small mint symbol which is different for each moneyer. Issues recorded in the names of two moneyers, ΔΗΜΟΚΛΗΣ (a headdress of Isis symbol, 2 obverse dies) and ΣΤΡΑΤΟΝΙΚΟΣ (acrostolium symbol, 4 obverse dies)

Group B (Pl. XXIII, figs. 12-24): The sphinx is depicted seated on a mint symbol, different for each issue. The obverse type is always enclosed in a dotted circle. Issues are known in the names of two moneyers, ΑΘΗΝΙΚΩΝ (sphinx seated on thyrsus, 3 obverse dies) and ΑΙΣΧΙΝΗΣ (sphinx seated on caduceus, 3 obverse dies).

⁵⁰⁸ The denominational system at Chios based on the dichalkon and its fractions is similar to the one used by neighbouring Erythrae in the same period; see Kinns, 1980, p. 344. During the period c 220-133 BC, Erythrae only struck coins of the dichalkon (AE 17 N. 294-299), chalkous (AE 18 n. 300-305), and hemichalkous (AE 19 n. 306-313). No coins of the last denomination have been identified for Series 19.

Group C (Pl. XXIII, figs. 25-36): A small mint symbol, different for each moneyer, appears on the reverse in a break in the ethnic legend. Issues of this group depict the sphinx wearing a modius on its head. The names of two moneyers appear on different issues, ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΗΣ (palm branch symbol in the reverse, 2 obverse dies,) and ΞΑΝΘΙΠΠΟΣ (headdress of Isis symbol in the reverse, 4 obverse dies). This group also includes the chalkoi issues in the name of ΖΗΝΩΝ (Pl. XXIII, ‘Series 19. II’, figs. 1-2) and ΑΡΓΕΙΟΣ (fig. 3)

Group D (Pl. XXIII, figs. 37-43): A headdress of Isis symbol appears behind the wing of the sphinx. Only coins in the name of a single moneyer, ΜΗΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ, are known (6 obverse dies). This moneyer also struck a chalkous issue (Pl. XXIII, fig. 5)

Group E (Pl. XXIII, figs. 44-54; Pl. XXIV, figs. 55-85): The sphinx is depicted seated on a mint symbol. Issues in the names of six moneyers, ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ (sphinx seated on caduceus or club, 5 obverse dies) ΑΡΤΕΜΗΣ⁵⁰⁹ (sphinx seated on staff coiled with serpent, 5 obverse dies), ΕΥΞΕΝΟΣ (sphinx seated on caduceus or club, 5 obverse dies), ΜΗΝΟΓΕΝΗΣ (sphinx seated on a club, 3 obverse dies,) ΜΙΚΚΑΛΟΣ (1 obverse die), ΜΙΑΤΙΑΔΗΣ (3 obverse dies), ΚΛΕΙΔΗΣ (2 obverse dies). The last three issues depict the sphinx seated on a plain line but they are classified in this series on account of their use of an identical style to types of issues belonging to this group; the last issue shows exceptionally for this series the sphinx l. All issues of this group are typologically identical to issues of Group B but different in style and also lack the distinctive dotted circle round the obverse type found in issues of the latter group.

⁵⁰⁹ Maurogordato, 1916, p. 321, includes an issue of this type recorded in the Rollin and Feuarent’s catalogue of 1864, no. 5442, with the name ΑΡΤΕΜΙΑΔΩΡΟΣ]. This coin was not studied by Maurogordato himself since he has no record of die axis and weight; it seems to me more likely that the name of the moneyer reads ΑΡΤΕΜΗΣ since no coin of this series bearing the above name is known.

Group F (Pl. XXIV, figs. 86-100): This group depicts the sphinx seated within a ship, though on most issues only the prow of the ship is visible⁵¹⁰ Issues in the names of three moneyers are known, ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ (6 obverse dies) ΤΡΥΦΩΝ (3 obverse dies) and ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ (3 obverse dies).

Only two moneyers, ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ and ΕΥΞΕΝΟΣ of Group E, have issues that share the same obverse dies. All issues of these two moneyers were struck by the same obverse dies and these moneyers would have therefore issued coinage jointly.

4. Relative sequence, proposed dating and pattern of issues: The relative chronology of the different groups in this series has been established from a variety of evidence, such as links with contemporary civic type drachms, die studies, and finds in dated archaeological contexts. Issues of Series 19 circulated widely throughout the Aegean region and the Greek mainland, with coin finds recorded from over a dozen different sites outside Chios. A few of these coins were found in dated archaeological contexts and occasionally even in hoards together with foreign coins, thus offering us strong evidence on their date and chronology. These different types of evidence, which I discuss separately for each group below, agree in general in placing the production of the series from the early/mid 2nd century BC down to the early 1st century BC. The circulation of the coins may have continued for some time after the series had ceased to be struck, and possibly down to the reign of Augustus.⁵¹¹

Maurogordato (1916, pp. 348-352, Group 67, Period IX, 190-88 BC) proposed a half century period for the issue of the series between c 133 and 87 BC. His date for the

⁵¹⁰ This type is discussed in detail in the chapter on typology, p. 577; the sphinx is seated in a ship and the prow is not just a mint symbol as suggested by Maurogordato who also recorded that the symbol in front of the sphinx on issues of ΤΡΥΦΩΝ is a cantharus. However careful study of this object has shown that it is a ship's prow. The silver issue of this moneyer (discussed in the following chapter on drachms on the 'reduced denarius' standard) clearly shows in the same position -in front of the sphinx- the prow of a ship.

⁵¹¹ This is deduced from a number of worn coins from later groups of this series found in archaeological levels of the early Imperial period, see pp. 293-7.

introduction of Series 19 is based on the assumption that it was issued after the cessation of Alexander type coinage at Chios, which he dated in 133 BC, following numismatists of his time who believed that the creation of the Roman province of Asia type brought an end to this type of coinage (1916, p. 301, f. 80).⁵¹² Maurogordato also considered that issues of Series 19 would have ended in 87 BC after the city of Chios was destroyed by Mithridates. Both these chronological limits are now refuted by evidence discussed below.

The traditional date of the cessation of Alexander type coinage at Chios and in Ionia in general, upon which Maurogordato based his dating of the introduction of Series 19, is three decades too late. Modern studies have shown that this Alexander type coinage was no longer struck after c 160 BC and therefore the creation of the Roman province in the region was unrelated to this numismatic development (Bauslaugh, *Posthumous Chian Alexanders*, pp. 36-37). A proposed end for Series 19 in c 87 BC would seem plausible since all minting operations would have ended with the city's destruction and the banishment of its people overseas at the time. However archaeological and numismatic evidence have established that there was no long break in the bronze coinage and the striking of issues for Series 19 is likely to have resumed shortly after c 84 BC when the Chians returned to their city.

5. Groups A-C:

The early stages in the striking of Series 19 can be traced from the development of the obverse sphinx type appearing on issues of different groups. The earliest depiction of the sphinx show it with both front paws on the ground copying this detail from the type appearing on drachms on the reduced Attic weight and contemporary Chian Alexander type tetradrachms. This type is recorded on issues of Groups A-C of Series 19, while later issues of

⁵¹² Maurogordato gives BMC, *Ionia*, pp. xlvi-l, as reference to the date of the cessation of the Posthumous Alexander type coinage in general.

this series always depict the sphinx lifting one of its front paws over a bunch of grapes, a type which is identical to the mint symbol appearing on the final issue of Chian Alexander type tetradrachms and dating c 160 BC.⁵¹³ As I discuss in the chapter on the typology of the coinage (p. 583), all available evidence points to the types of the bronze coinage copying with some delay those of the silver that were already in circulation. In accordance with the date of the latest Alexander type tetradrachm it is likely that bronze issues copying the sphinx type with its front paw lifted over the bunch of grapes would date after the middle of the 2nd century BC, with issues of Group C, and earlier groups, probably dating before.

None of the names appearing on issues of Series 19 is found on any early civic drachms (Groups A and B), and Chian Alexander type tetradrachms signed with the full name of a moneyer (Bauslaugh, Period 4); however, issues of Series 19 bear names in common with civic drachms of Groups C, D, F. This probably suggests that the earliest issues of Series 19 were struck after the cessation of the issue of Alexander type tetradrachms, bearing the full names of moneyers, and civic drachms of the earliest two groups (Groups A, B). This may also be indicated by the fact that issues of Series 19 do not use the letter forms appearing on both the tetradrachm and the drachm issues dating to the early 2nd century BC but are similar to those of later drachms dating after c. 170 BC (see the discussion above with the evidence on the date of individual drachm groups). The association of bronzes of Series 19 with later civic drachms shows that both types of coinage were entrusted at the time to the same individuals.

The evidence quoted above would suggest an introductory date for the series slightly before or after the middle of the 2nd century BC; this seems to be confirmed by the

⁵¹³ Bauslaugh types 86-7, Price 2441-5, Chian Alexander type tetradrachms show a sphinx lifting its front paw from the end of the 3rd century BC; only issues dating c 165 BC include the bunch of grapes under the paw of the sphinx. See Price, 1991, p. 299, on the development of this typological feature as a mint symbol on Chian Alexander type tetradrachms.

composition of hoard IGCH no. 263, Corinth 1933, deposited c. 146 BC.⁵¹⁴ The inclusion in this hoard of a coin bearing the name ΔΗΜΟΚΛΗΣ (fig. 4) and showing few signs of circulation suggests that the issue was already circulating by 146 BC and was probably struck not long before c 160 BC when the hoard seems to have been formed.⁵¹⁵ Typologically it is also suggested that this is an early issue since it shows the sphinx with both front paws on the ground. On this evidence I would classify it as an issue of Group A of this series. The issue is linked with a different one signed by the moneyer ΣΩΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ and sharing an identical style.

Another coin find at Corinth, though from an undated archaeological level, may provide evidence on the likely period of issue of an early group of Series 19. This is a coin signed by the moneyer ΑΙΣΧΙΝΗΣ (see fig. 22). The coin is corroded, but has seen little circulation which contrasts with all other finds of Series 19 (with the exception of the ΔΗΜΟΚΛΗΣ coin just mentioned) from the same site consisting of badly worn coins, all belonging to the two final groups of this series (see the discussion below, pp. 294-5).

Though the ΑΙΣΧΙΝΗΣ issue is dissimilar in style to those in the previous group (with ΔΗΜΟΚΛΗΣ and ΣΤΡΑΤΟΝΙΚΟΣ) it is likely to be an early issue since its sphinx type is of the old type and does not lift its front paw over the bunch of grapes. The style of its types resembles that of certain drachms on the reduced Attic of Group C dating c 170-150 BC. It is possible that the condition of this particular coin alludes to a brief circulation at Corinth that was interrupted by the destruction of Corinth in 146 BC. The coin is therefore more likely to have

⁵¹⁴ Edwards, 1937, p. 248, with a proposed date for deposit before c 146 BC. The hoard was found under the pavement of the Lechaëum road next to the Peribolus of the temple of Apollo; the spot where it was hidden lay undisturbed after the destruction of the city in 146 BC, leading Edwards to consider that it was deposited before the Roman destruction. This view is also shared by J. Warren, 'The autonomous bronze coinage of Sikyon', NC 145, (1985), part III, pp. 45-66, p. 57, who found that the latest coins of Sikyon in the hoard (her Sikyon 'group 10') are not dated later than 150-146 BC. Furthermore, she dismisses the -remote- possibility that the hoard may have been hidden by a squatter after the city's destruction in 146 BC.

⁵¹⁵ Many coins in this hoard belonged to Warren, Sikyon, group 10, dating c. 160/150-146 BC, see, 'The autonomous bronze coinage of Sikyon', NC 144 (1984), part II, pp. 1-24, pp. 14-16, with the suggestion that this hoard cannot have been formed before c 160 BC

circulated in Hellenistic Corinth before 146 BC, rather after the founding of the Roman colony in 44 BC.⁵¹⁶

I have classified the ΑΙΣΧΙΝΗΣ issue in Group B alongside another issue signed by the moneyer ΑΘΗΝΙΚΩΝ which shares types of an identical style. Issues of Group B would probably date about the middle of the 2nd century BC (?) suggesting that they may be near contemporary with issues of Group A.

A total of seven coins from Groups A and B were recovered in the excavations at Delos, a large number considering that issues of the first group are relatively scarce, and that all these coins were stray finds on a foreign site.⁵¹⁷ None were recorded from archaeological contexts that can be securely dated,⁵¹⁸ but are likely to have entered and circulated on Delos not long after their date of issue, around the mid 2nd century BC. This is suggested by the fact that none originate from any of the (many) recorded contexts dating to the early 1st century BC and associated with known historical events on Delos, such as the piratic raids of 86 and 69 BC.⁵¹⁹ They are therefore likely to have been lost some time before these events occurred. During the mid and late 2nd century BC Delos was the busiest trading centre in the Eastern

⁵¹⁶ It is also unlikely to have circulated at Corinth during the so-called 'Interim' period of 146-44 BC, when it seems that there may have been a small settlement in the ruins at Corinth (see p. 294 in this study).

⁵¹⁷ The coin finds include the following from Group A: an issue of ΣΤΡΑΤΟΝΙΚΟΣ, acc. no. 1908-9 ID', no. 39, recorded on its ticket as a find made at Delos but not published by Svoronos; this is a different coin of the same moneyer also found at Delos and published in JIAN, 1911, p. 59, no. 39, with moneyer's name wrongly recorded as ΣΩΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ; two coins of ΔΗΜΟΚΛΗΣ, acc. no. 1908-9, L 16, 42, published by Svoronos, JIAN, 1911, p. 93, no. 42, with moneyer's name as ΔΗΜΟ[ΚΛΗΣ]; these coins were wrongly recorded by Maurogordato, 1916, p. 321, with moneyer's name, ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑ[ΤΗΣ]. From Group B: two issues of ΑΘΗΝΙΚΩΝ with acc. nos. 1903-4, B' no. 15 and 1908-9, L. 15 45, the last was published by Svoronos, JIAN, 1911, p. 89, no. 45, and recorded by Maurogordato, 1916, p. 320; an issue of ΑΙΣΧΙΝΗΣ, acc. no. 1906-7, K' no. 5, published by Svoronos, JIAN, 1907, p. 196, no. 92, but not included by Maurogordato.

⁵¹⁸ The coins found in the early excavations at Delos were summarily published by Svoronos in JIAN, in groups corresponding to the same find spots (see the previous footnote with finds of coins belonging to Chian Series 19). Some of the coins obviously come from the same level or were possibly even found in hoards, but Svoronos failed to record this for the bronze coinage. The Chian coins belonging to these two groups were found alongside issues of various mints and different periods.

⁵¹⁹ Delos was attacked and destroyed in 86 BC during the 1st Mithridatic War by forces of Mithridates and two decades later, in 69 BC the island was raided by pirates. For events of the period affecting Delos, see J. Roussel, *Delos, Colonie Athenienne*, (Paris, 1916), pp. 333-5; for numismatic discoveries associated with these events see the reports prepared by J. Svoronos and published in JIAN for the years 1907, 1911, 1913.

Mediterranean⁵²⁰ and the Chian bronze coins from this particular group is evidence of close contacts between Delos and Chios (see the discussion in the chapter on the economy, pp. 637-8, for Chians traders settled at Delos). These finds, combined with the fact that no coins from issues of Series 17-18 were recovered at Delos, suggest that issues of Series 19 would have had effectively replaced all earlier bronze issues of Chios by the middle of the 2nd century BC. Other coin finds from these earlier issues of Series 19 are recorded from site excavations at Israel,⁵²¹ and the island of Cythera, opposite the Peloponnese.⁵²²

Two issues signed by moneyers ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΗΣ and ΞΑΝΘΙΠΠΟΣ are classified in this study in Group C and bear types that are stylistically close to those of Group A and show the sphinx of the old style with both front paws on the ground. These features suggest that the issues may not be much later in date than those of Groups A-B. One of the types used on issues of ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΗΣ is stylistically identical to a drachm on the reduced Attic standard belonging to (drachm) Group C and shares with it the same moneyer's name. Both issues would almost certainly have been struck by the same moneyer and belonging to the same period.⁵²³ Since I have already proposed a date for this drachm group as c 170-150 BC (see above, Group C of drachms of the reduced Attic standard) I would suggest that this date would also apply for this particular bronze issue, and also the other issues of Group C of Series 19.

⁵²⁰ Delos was declared a free port by the Romans in 167 BC and this date marks its beginning as the largest commercial centre of the Eastern Mediterranean. With the destruction of Corinth in 146 BC Delos remained the only centre of trade between Rome and the East (Strabo). It comes as no surprise that the majority of non local Hellenistic coins found at Delos date after the mid 2nd century BC (Svoronos, 1911)

⁵²¹ Mrs Vitto has kindly informed me about a find of a coin of Series 19, Group A, during the excavation at the harbour Jammia on the Mediterranean coast between Jaffa and Azorus. To be published in a forthcoming issue of the Bulletin of the Israel Antiquities Authority.

⁵²² Information kindly provided by Dr. Tsavaropoulos, currently excavating at this site.

⁵²³ The drachm issue of ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΗΣ is illustrated Pl. XVI, figs. 11 and the bronze Pl. XXIII, Series C, figs. 25-29. Note in particular the close resemblance between the sphinx type, clearly visible on the bronze coin illustrated in fig. 26, with that appearing on the drachm. The die engraver seems to have been copying the characteristic type of sphinx of the drachm type with the long thin body and the wings drawn as lines protruding from its back.

This proposed date, as we saw above, is similar to the one already considered on the evidence of typology. Group C constitutes the earliest case where an issue of Series 19 can be securely linked with a drachm on the reduced Attic standard and this as we will see also applies for a number of issues in later groups. The extremely rare chalkoi issues signed by ΖΗΝΩΝ and ΑΡΓΕΙΟΣ seem have been struck by the namesake moneyer in charge of drachms of Group C. This seems to provide us with a further link between issues of Series 19 of Group C and drachms of Group C and the proposed date for this drachm group (c 170-150 BC) would also apply for the chalkoi.⁵²⁴

An overstriking suggests that issues of Group C were probably early in the series, since a coin of the moneyer ΑΡΤΕΜΗΣ of a later group (Group E) is overstruck on a coin of ΞΑΝΘΙΠΠΟΣ (fig. 58). Traces of the undertype consisting of part of the wreath enclosing the reverse type and a headdress of Isis as the mint symbol are clearly visible on the obverse of the coin. ΞΑΝΘΙΠΠΟΣ is the only known moneyer to have used this mint symbol in the reverse of his issue making very likely the identification of this coin as one of his issues. This overstriking confirms a detail in the proposed relative sequence of the group of issues in that issues of ΞΑΝΘΙΠΠΟΣ (Group C) precede those of ΑΡΤΕΜΗΣ (Group E).⁵²⁵

⁵²⁴ For the drachm issue of ΖΗΝΩΝ see illustration, Pl. XVII, fig. 27; bronze issues of this moneyer, Pl. XXIV, '19.II', figs. 1-2. A link between the drachm and the bronze issue bearing this name is also considered by Maurogordato, 1918, 'Supplement', p. 76. For drachm issues of ΑΡΓΕΙΟΣ see Pl. XVI, fig. 15-17 and the bronze coin of this moneyer, Pl. XXIV, fig. 3. The latter issue is stylistically close to the types of the drachm and not that bronze issue bearing this moneyer's name and belonging to Series 17.

⁵²⁵ A coin of the ΑΙΣΧΙΝΗΣ issue may have been overstruck on a coin of the city of Maronea in Thrace (fig. 21). The undertype consists of the legend ..ΑΡΟΝ.. which is visible on the obverse of the Chian issue. The identification with an issue of Maroneia is probable but by no means certain (SNG Copenhagen, 'Thrace', nos. 628-633?). The size and weight of this coin exceeds the average for this series but this is attributed to the fact that it has been overstruck on a foreign coin.

SERIES 19 [M. 67]

Dichalkon

Group A c 170-50 BC

Obv.: sphinx seated to the r. on thin line; small bunch of grapes in front of its breast and small symbol, different for each moneyer, located below in front of its paws. No traces of dotted flan

Rev.: amphora in the centre. moneyer's name in the field to the r., and ethnic legend XIOΣ in the field to the l. The type is encircled with a vine wreath which has two decorative spheres on its top.

No symbol appears in the reverse of issues in this group.

Moneyer: ΔΗΜΟΚΛΗΣ; head dress of Isis symbol in front of the sphinx.

London

B. M.:
no. 907; 1.92g, 12; [ΔΗ]ΜΟΚΛΗ[Σ]. **Pl. XXXIII, fig. 1.** Obv. Die 1

Athens

N. M.:
Delos find, 1908-9, L 16 no. 42; 2.35g, 12; ΔΗΜΟΚΛ[ΗΣ] ⁵²⁶. **fig. 2.** Obv. Die 2
Kannelakis coll. no. 4; 2.10g; [ΔΗΜΟ]ΚΛΗ[Σ]. **fig. 3.** Obv. Die 2

Corinth

A. M.:
IGCH 263; ΔΗΜΟΚΛΗ[Σ], published in Hesperia, 1937, p. 248. **fig. 4.** Obv. Die 1

Paris

B. N.:
no. 3147; 1.72g, 12; [Δ]ΗΜΟΚΛΗΣ. Obv. Die 1
W. Ready; weight not recorded. 12; [Δ]ΗΜΟΚΛΗ[Σ]. Obv. Die 1
G. c.: 12; ΔΗΜΟΚΛΗ[Σ]. **fig. 5.** Obv. Die 1

Munich

M. K.:
1.69g, 12; ΔΗΜΟΚΛΗΣ.

Classical Cash Sale, April 1996
no. 491; 1.8g. ΔΗΜΟΚΛΗΣ

Moneyer: ΣΤΡΑΤΟΝΙΚΟΣ; acrostolium symbol in front of the sphinx.

London

B. M.:
no. 926; 1.73g, 12; ΣΤΡΑΤΟΝ[ΙΚΟΣ].

Athens

N. M.:
Delos find, 1908-1909. ID' no. 39; 2.03g, 2; ΣΤΡΑΤΟΝ[ΙΚΟΣ], published as ΣΩΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ in IJNA. **fig. 6.** Obv. Die 1
Delos? 1903-4. B' no. 17; 1.83g, 12; [ΣΤ]ΡΑΤΟΝ[ΙΚΟΣ]. **fig. 7.** Obv. Die 2
no. 5530b; 2.03g, 11; ΣΤΡΑΤΟΝ[ΙΚΟΣ]. **fig. 8.** Obv. Die 2.
1899-1900, Christodoulou. LH' 17; 2.32g, 1; ΣΤΡΑΤΟΝ[ΙΚΟΣ]. **fig. 9.** Obv. Die 3

⁵²⁶ The name of the magistrate was wrongly recorded as ΔΗΜΟΚΡ[ΑΤΗΣ] by Maurogordato, 1916, p. 321

Vienna

K. M.:

no. 34614; 2.04g, 12; [Σ]TPATONI[KOΣ]. **fig. 10.** Obv. Die 4

Classical Cash Sale, April 1996

no. 490; 2.4g; ΣTPA[TONIKOΣ]

Group B

Obv.: sphinx seated to the r. on an object, different for each moneyer. In front of the sphinx is a small bunch of grapes with a shoot. The type (not the flan) is encircled with a dotted circle.

Rev.: As previous group.

No symbol appears in the rev. type

Moneyer: ΑΘΗΝΙΚΩΝ; sphinx seated on thyrsus symbol

London

B. M.:

no. 883; 3.49g, 10; ΑΘΗΝΙΚΩΝ

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:

no. 1610, R. 18; 2.49g, 12; ΑΘΗΝΙΚΩ[N]. **fig. 12.** Obv. Die 1

Athens

N. M.:

Delos find, 1903-4, B' 15; 1.96g, 6; ΑΘΗΝΙΚΩ[N]. **fig. 13.** Obv. Die 1

Delos find, 1908-9, no. L15 45; 2.40g, 12; ΑΘΗΝΙΚΩ[N]. **fig. 14.** Obv. Die 2

1896-7, Tsibourakis, no. 819; 2.41g, 12; [Α]ΘΗΝΙΚΩΝ

Vienna

K. M.:

no. 34201; 2.39g, 11; ΑΘΗΝΙΚΩ[N]

Sh. Sh.:

no. 3367; 2.57g, 12; ΑΘΗΝΙΚΩΝ; overstruck. **fig. 15.** Obv. Die 2

Berlin

M. K.:

F. 1873; 2.78g, 12; ΑΘΗΝΙΚΩ[N]. **fig. 16.** Obv. Die 2

V. R. ; 2.25g, 5; ΑΘΗΝΙΚΩ[N]

Israel

961-72 found in the ancient harbour of Jammia; 1.85g, 12; [ΑΘΗΝ]ΙΚΩ[N]. **fig. 17.** Obv. Die 3

Moneyer: ΑΙΣΧΙΝΗΣ; sphinx seated on caduceus symbol

London

B. M.:

no. 919; 2.31g, 1; ΑΙΣΧΙΝΗΣ. **fig. 18.** Obv. Die 1

no. 85; 2.53g, 11; ΑΙΣΧΙΝΗ[Σ]. **fig. 19.** Obv. Die 1

K. c.:

no. 443; 1.80g, 11; ΑΙΣΧΙΝΗΣ

Cambridge

F. M.:

Leake coll.; 2.38g, 12; ΑΙΣΧΙΝ[ΗΣ]. **fig. 20**. Obv. Die 2

Oxford

A. M.:

Milne 1924 ex Nikolaides; 2.31g, 11; ΑΙΣΧΙΝΗΣ

New Coll. c.: 2.58g, 8; ΑΙΣΧΙΝΗΣ; overstruck on foreign coin (Maroneia?). **fig. 21**. Obv. Die 2

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:

no. 1611, Rollin; 1.80g, 12; ΑΙΣΧΙΝΗΣ

Athens

N. M.:

Delos find, 1906-7, no. KS' 92; 2.41g, 11; ΑΙΣΧΙΝΗ[Σ]; published in Inter. Num. 1907, p. 196. **fig. 22**. Obv. Die 1
1903-4, Kanell., no. B' 19; 2.39g, 11; ΑΙΣΧΙΝΗΣ. Obv. Die 3

E. c.:

2.60g, 6; [ΑΙΣΧΙΝΗΣ]

Corinth

A. M.:

inv. no. 11-1-30; 1.48g, 12; ΑΙΣΧΙΝΗ[Σ]. **fig. 23**. Obv. Die 1

Paris

B. N.:

no. 3150; 1.77g, 5; ΑΙΣΧΙΝΗΣ. **fig. 24**. Obv. Die 1

G. c.: weight not recorded; ΑΙΣΧΙΝΗ[Σ]. **fig. 25**. Obv. Die 1

Vienna

K. M.:

no. 35880; 2.28g, 5; ΑΙΣΧΙΝΗΣ

Berlin

M. K.:

F. 1851; 2.01g, 10; ΑΙΣΧΙΝΗ[Σ]

I. B. 1900; 2.17g, 10; ΑΙΣΧΙΝΗΣ

L. 1906, no.B 2168; 2.82g, 11; ΑΙΣΧΙΝΗΣ

GROUP C c 150-20 BC

Obv.: sphinx seated to the r., bunch of grapes in front of it, modius on its head. No dotted flan

Rev.: type as previous group but symbol, different for each moneyer, appears in the rev. type located in the break of the ethnic legend ΧΙ-ΟΣ

Moneyer: ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΗΣ; palm branch symbol in the reverse

London

B. M.:

no. 87; 2.22g, 1; ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΗΣ]. **fig. 26**. Obv. Die 1

Athens

N. M.:

Kannell. coll. KG' no. 12; 2.47g, 12; [Α]ΠΟΛΛΩ[ΝΙΔΗΣ].
no. 97. **fig. 27.** Obv. Die 2

Paris

B. N.:
no. 3144; 2.58g, 12; [ΑΠΟ]ΛΛΩ[ΝΙΔΗΣ]. **fig. 28.** Obv. Die 1

Berlin

M. K.:
L. 1906; 1.85g, 12; [Α]ΠΟΛΛ[ΩΝΙΔΗΣ]. **fig. 29.** Obv. Die 2
Knobelsdorff; 2.11. 6; [ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΗΣ]; overstruck. **fig. 30.** Obv. Die 1

Moneyer: ΞΑΝΘΙΠΠΟΣ; head dress of Isis symbol in the rev. type

Oxford

A. M.:
Milne 1924; 1.92g, 12; [Ξ]ΑΝΘΙΠ[ΠΟΣ]. **fig. 31.** Obv. Die 1
ex New College coll.; 2.50g, 12; [ΞΑΝΘΙΠΠΟΣ]. **fig. 32.** Obv. Die 2

Athens

N. M.:
1891-2, KZ' 343; 2.26g, 2; ΞΑΝΘΙ[ΠΠΟΣ]. **fig. 33.** Obv. Die 3

C. b.c.:
no. 925M; 2.81g, 2; ΞΑΝΘΙ[ΠΠΟΣ]. **fig. 34.** Obv. Die 4

Paris

B. N.:
G. c.: weight not recorded, 1; ΞΑΝΘΙΠΠΟ[Σ]. **fig. 35.** Obv. Die 4

Vienna

K. M.:
no. 35879; 1.87g, 2; ΞΑΝΘΙΠΠΟ[Σ]. **fig. 36.** Obv. Die 2

Berlin

M. K.:
L. 1906; 2.74g, 12; ΞΑΝΘΙΠΠΟΣ.

6. Groups D-F:

Issues of the last three groups of Series 19 (Group D, E, and F) were signed by moneyers who were also in charge of contemporary drachms. This has proved particularly helpful for dating the bronze issues. The single issue of Group D, signed by ΜΗΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ, was struck alongside the reduced Attic drachm of Group D bearing this name. In this case the issues of both bronze and silver are further linked by the appearance of a common mint symbol, the headress of Isis. On the drachms the symbol is found in the reverse in a break in the ethnic legend, but on the bronze in the obverse behind the wing of the sphinx.⁵²⁷ This suggests that the bronze issue was not only struck by the same moneyer as the drachms, but that both issues were probably controlled by the same mint official identified with the Isis symbol. The dichalkon (19.I) of ΜΗΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ and its extremely rare chalkous (19.II) -only two specimens are known- would therefore date sometime in the late 2nd century BC, alongside his drachm issue.

The moneyer ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ striking bronze issues of Group E was the same as the namesake moneyer striking drachms on the reduced Attic weight.⁵²⁸ The issues are stylistically identical and also share the same mint symbol, the caduceus, appearing on the silver issue in the reverse type next to the ethnic legend and on the bronze coinage in the obverse under the sphinx.

The bronze issue of ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ would have been struck alongside the drachm of this moneyer shortly before 87 BC. Interestingly the pattern of his bronze issue seems to match that of his drachm. As we saw in pp. 257-8, ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ shared most of his obverse dies with another moneyer striking drachms, ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ; the same also applies for this moneyer's bronze

⁵²⁷ For the drachm issue of ΜΗΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ, Pl. XVII, figs. 43-46; for bronze issues of the same moneyer, see illustrations, Pl. XXIII, figs. 37-43.

⁵²⁸ For the drachm issue of ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ, see illustrations Pl. XVIII, figs. 1-12; for coins of the bronze issue see illustrations, Pl. XXIII, figs. 44-54.

issue, since it was struck with the same obverse dies as issues of another moneyer, ΕΥΞΕΝΟΣ. It is clear that the bronze coinage would have been copying aspects of the silver in that in both cases we come across issues struck jointly by two moneyers. As we saw the joint drachm issue of ΔΕΡΚΥΛΟΣ-ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ seems to be linked with events of c 87 BC and the same may also apply for the bronze issues signed by ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ-ΕΥΞΕΝΟΣ.

Three bronze issues bearing the names ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ, ΤΡΥΦΩΝ and ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ belong to the final group of Series 19 (Group F) and would be contemporary with the drachms struck on the ‘reduced denarius’ weight, and signed by these three moneyers. The drachms, as I discuss in the following chapter, date between c 80 and 60 BC and the same period would also apply for issues of Group F. The bronze issues were therefore struck after the end of 1st Mithridatic War, establishing the fact that the issue of this series was resumed some time after c 87 BC, the date Maurogordato proposed as marking the end of this coinage.

The name ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ was the most common at Chios during the Hellenistic period, with dozens of different Chians bearing it at the time (Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, pp. 323-328, nos. 171-199.) but the identification of a single moneyer in charge of both silver and bronze issues is almost certain on the grounds of a common style and the use of the same obverse type, the sphinx with front of prow or seated in a ship. Issues signed by ΤΡΥΦΩΝ are dated with some precision to c 80-69 BC, and that of ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ c. 80-60 BC on the evidence provided from archaeological findings discussed in detail below.

Issues of Series 19 belonging to Groups E and F were issued shortly before, during, and after the 1st Mithridatic War, and are the most common in the series. They saw extensive circulation outside the island, mostly in the region of the Aegean and the southern Greek mainland, and represent the highest peak of external circulation for coins of Series 19 or for any other bronze Chian coinage. Coins of these groups that were found in hoards or dated

archaeological contexts in sites of Greece agree well with the date proposed for these issues on other types of evidence, and also with the dates based on independent evidence for the final issues of the reduced Attic drachms and their succeeding drachm series on the 'reduced denarius' standard.

Excavations at Corinth have produced a number of coins from the last two groups of Series 19 showing signs of a long circulation.⁵²⁹ Almost certainly the coins would have arrived there following the foundation of *Colonia Laus Julia Corinthus* in 44 BC and circulated locally during the early years of the colony.⁵³⁰ Two such finds belonging to Group E, a coin of ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ (fig. 49) and one of ΕΥΞΕΝΟΣ (fig. 73), were made during the excavation of the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at the Acrocorinth. Both coins were found among debris in the construction packing of the 'South Wall' of the sanctuary which was rebuilt soon after 44 BC.⁵³¹ Other finds from the same level included a coin of Cassander, king of Macedonia (317-294 BC), and pottery from two distinctive periods, the Classical period and the reign of Augustus. Dr. Bookides, the excavator of the sanctuary, used Maurogordato's study as a reference for the Chian coins and placed them chronologically in the 2nd century BC. Consequently she assumed that the Chian coins, together with the coin of Cassander and the Classical pottery, were part of debris from the pre-146 BC level (though Maurogordato proposed a date of issue for coins in Series 19 after c 133 BC) which was placed in the construction packing while the sanctuary was being rebuilt during the late 1st century BC. The

⁵²⁹ Two of these coins, each one of the moneyers ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ and ΕΥΞΕΝΟΣ, are discussed in detail below in this section. The other finds include a coin of ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ (acc. no. 5/17/30) and two coins (acc. nos. 10/22/34, and 67.1007) bearing types that belong to Groups E but with legends that are too worn to read.

⁵³⁰ Some material evidence has emerged suggesting that Corinth was not entirely uninhabited during the so-called 'Interim period' (146-44 BC). However even if there was a small settlement among the ruins of the city, excavations have revealed a very limited importation of foreign goods and coins and it is not likely that the Chian coins of Series 19 and dating before 44 BC date might have entered Corinth during this period. On the question of a settlement at Corinth in this period, see C. K. Williams, II, 'Corinth 1977, Forum Southwest, Corinth: 146 BC to 44 BC', *Hesperia* 48, (1978), pp. 21-25; I. B. Romano, 'A Hellenistic deposit from Corinth, evidence for the interim period activity [146-44 BC]', *Hesperia* 63, (1994), pp. 58-64.

⁵³¹ N. Bookides, 'Excavations of the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at the Acrocorinth', *Hesperia* 43, 1974, pp. 267-307, 'Coins', pp. 292-307; the Chian coins are published in p. 303, with nos. 62-63.

Augustan pottery was considered as part of debris that accumulated there while the rebuilding of the sanctuary was under way, for example pottery used on the site by the construction workers.

However the proposed date for the Chian issues rules out any association of these particular coins with the Classical pottery and the Macedonian coin. These as we saw date during the early 1st century BC, which precludes any chance of them having been lost prior to the destruction of Corinth in 146 BC. The fact that the coins have seen a long circulation strongly suggests that they were lost or discarded a long time after their proposed date, most probably during the second half of the early 1st century BC. Therefore both Chian coins would have entered the pool of coin circulation at Corinth after the foundation of the Roman colony and should therefore be seen as part of the debris, possibly petty currency owned by one of the labourers, dating to the early Roman reconstruction.

The excavation of a house at Delos, the so-called *House of the Comedians* ('Maison des Comédiens')⁵³² produced evidence on the chronology of the later issues of Series 19. Since this particular building is known to have been destroyed in 69 BC and never rebuilt again, it would seem that the two Chian coins recorded found there were lost during this destruction.⁵³³ The first coin belongs to an issue of Group F signed by ΤΡΥΦΩΝ (see fig. 101) showed almost no signs of circulation (Hackens, p. 401, no. 471).⁵³⁴ This find helps to narrow down the proposed period of issue for Group F to the decade 80-70 BC and also provides us with a closing date of issue for Series 19 of c 70 BC. The second Chian coin yielded by this excavation is signed by ΑΡΤΕΜΗΣ and shows moderate wear (ibid, no. 472).⁵³⁵ This is an issue

⁵³² P. H. Bruneau et alii, *L' îlot de la Maison des Comédiens*, EAD 27, 1970.

⁵³³ The coins from this excavation were published by Tony Hackens in Ch. XVI, 'Les Monnaies', pp. 387-419. They range from the 4th century to the early 1st century BC. Two coins found in this excavation and dating to the mid 1st century are dismissed in the publication as later intrusions.

⁵³⁴ Note that in the publication we find a question mark next to the recorded name of the moneyer (ΤΡΥΦΩΝ?) but we may consider as certain the identification of the moneyer's name.

⁵³⁵ Hackens has recorded the name legend on this coin as ΕΜΟΣ but this should be corrected to [ΑΡΤΕ]ΜΗΣ.

of Group E and the coin find agrees with a proposed date for this group in the early 1st century BC. Another building at Delos, destroyed sometime in the early 1st century BC, has yielded a coin of Series 19 which however was too corroded to be identified.⁵³⁶ Future identification of its issue would add to the body of evidence on the date of Series 19.

A further three coins belonging to Groups E-F of Series 19 were also found in different sites at Delos during the excavations of the early 20th century but there is no evidence that the coin finds come from dated archaeological levels.⁵³⁷

Four coins of Series 19 were found in the Athenian Agora, all of them belonging to Groups E-F. Issues represented in these finds include a coin of ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ from Group E and a coin each from Group F of ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ, ΤΡΥΦΩΝ and ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ (Kroll, *Athens Agora XXVI*, p. 290, nos. 944a, b, c).⁵³⁸ The last coin -no. 944c- was found in a level dating to the middle of the 1st century BC and since the coin shows few signs of circulation we can assign a date for this issue of slightly before the mid 1st century BC.⁵³⁹ This agrees with the proposed date of issue in the 70s BC as suggested above. It is certain that these coins were brought to Athens after the city's sack by Sulla in 86 BC and would have circulated there well into the mid 1st century BC, as suggested by the discovery locally of a number of later Chian coins belonging to the next series (no. 20) and issued in the mid 1st century BC (see pp. 331-2, on these finds). The majority of coins belonging to Series 19 and found at Athens have seen some circulation, in contrast to coins of the following series which show fewer signs of circulation.

⁵³⁶ Philip Bruneau, 'Contribution a l' Histoire Urbaine de Delos a l' Epoque Hellenistique et l' Epoque Imperiale', BCH 1968, pp. 633-709, records in pp. 660-664, coin finds from the excavation of a building ('Fouille au Sud de Dioscourion') and an archaeological level dating to the late 2nd and early 1st century BC.

⁵³⁷ From Group E: a coin of ΕΥΞΕΝΟΣ, published by Svoronos, JIAN, 1913, p. 43, no. 285; a coin of ΑΡΤΕΜΗΣ, published *ibid*, JIAN, 1911, p. 79, no. 32; a coin of ΜΙΑΤΙΑΔΗΣ, *ibid*, no. 33. The last two coin finds are also referred to by Maurogordato, 1916, in p. 321 and p. 323.

⁵³⁸ The moneyer's name of 944b was recorded by Kroll as ΓΡΥΗΙΟΣ? The coin has now been identified with certainty as an issue of ΤΡΥΦΩΝ. On the ticket accompanying this coin it is recorded that it was found together with a slightly worn (w 2) Athenian coin of the Augustan period, though not part of the same hoard; this detail was not included in the coin's publication.

⁵³⁹ It was found in well F 19:6 with a date of the fill in the mid 1st century BC, see Kroll, p. 307. The coin would have only circulated briefly before it was discarded since it is almost unworn.

All the above dated finds of this coinage seem to point to a date of issue for Groups E and F in c 100-70 BC. Other finds of late issues of Series 19 in different sites give an indication of its period of issue. A coin of ΕΥΞΕΝΟΣ was found in a cave on the coast of the island of Ithaca together with various other foreign bronze issues dating between the 2nd and 1st centuries BC.⁵⁴⁰ It is not clear if these coins formed a hoard or may have accumulated there over a long period of time (e.g. as offerings to a shrine). It seems more likely that this is a saving hoard and the chronology of the coins would support this theory. A Chian coin possibly belonging to the final group, was also found at Messene in a hoard consisting of local issues dating to the 1st century BC.⁵⁴¹ From Elis, another city at the Peloponnese, originates an unidentified worn coin from a later group of Series 19.⁵⁴² Finally a coin of ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ or ΕΥΞΕΝΟΣ was found in an unknown site on the island of Euboia and is on display at Chalkis Museum (inv. no. 2438).⁵⁴³

A number of other excavation reports also include references to the discovery of Chian coins of the module of issues of Series 19 but these are given no coin references or even the name of the moneyer. For example the description of two Chian coins found during the excavation at Priene suggests that they may belong to this series.⁵⁴⁴

⁵⁴⁰ S. Benton, 'Excavations in Ithaca III', *ABSA*, 1938-9, p. 51. Alongside the Chian coin were found bronze issues of Patras, Dyrrachium, Damastion, and Mark Antony. The issue of Dyrrachium has been re-dated by Kroll, *Athens Agora XXVI*, p. 197, to the 2nd-1st century BC.

⁵⁴¹ This coin has not been published but Mr Sideropoulos who is in charge of all coin finds from this excavation, has kindly informed me of the presence of the coin (signed by ΤΡΥΦΩΝ) in a hoard of Messenian bronzes dating to this period.

⁵⁴² The coin is recorded in the catalogues of the Athens Numismatic Museum as transferred to Athens from Elis and found during the Austrian excavations of Elis in 1909. No further details were available.

⁵⁴³ No illustration or further details of the coin are available at present. The exact site of the find is not known but the museum's guide book states that it originates from Euboia. The coin is on display in one of the glass cabinets in the Archaeological Museum at Chalkis where I was able to study its obverse but not its reverse type. This shows typological details that are only found on a type used in common by both moneyers.

⁵⁴⁴ K. Regling, *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Die Münzen von Priene*, 1927, p. 182

Group D c 120 BC

Obv.: sphinx seated to the r. on thin line clearly lifting one of its front paws over a bunch of grapes. Headdress of Isis symbol located behind its wing.
Rev.: type as above but no symbol; the wreath is of a simpler design to other groups and lacks decorative spheres.

Moneyer: MHNOΦIAOΣ

London

B. M.:
no. 93; 2.46g, 1; MHNOΦIAOΣ. **fig. 37**. Obv. Die 1
no. 119; 2.46g, 1; MHNOΦIAOΣ

Oxford

A. M.:
2.32g, 12; [M]HNOΦIAO[Σ]
Milne ex Nikolaides, Smyrna; 2.20g, 12; [M]HNOΦIAO[Σ]

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:
no. 1616, R. no. 40; 2.17g, 7; MHNOΦIAO[Σ]. **fig. 38**. Obv. Die 2

Athens

N. M.:
1901-2, Koronaios {recorded as found at Chios} H' no. 5; 2.37g, 11; MHNOΦIAO[Σ]. **fig. 39**. Obv. Die 3
Kanell. coll. KG' no. 11; 2.62g, 5; MHNOΦ[IAOΣ]

C. b. c.:
no acc. numb.; 2.77g, 12; MHNOΦIAOΣ. **fig. 40**. Obv. Die 3

E. c.:
2.32g, 1; MHNOΦIAOΣ. **fig. 41**. Obv. Die 4
2.20g, 8; MHNOΦIAOΣ

Chios

K. L.:
no. 25; weight not recorded, 12; MHNOΦIAOΣ
no. 26; weight not recorded; 6; MHNOΦIAO[Σ]

Vienna

K. M.:
no. 30319; 3.48g, 12; [M]HNOΦIAO[Σ]. **fig. 42**. Obv. Die 5

Munich

K. M.:
2.32g, 9; MHNOΦIAO[Σ]

Berlin

M. K.:
I. B. 1900; 2.39g, 3; MHNOΦIAOΣ. **fig. 43**. Obv. Die 6
L. 1906; 1.88g, 5; MHNOΦIAOΣ

Mun. und Med. Antiken Stuttgart. Auktion XXXVIII
no. 225; 1.78g

Group E c 120-87 BC

Obv.: sphinx seated to the r. on various objects, different for each moneyer, lifting front paw over bunch of grapes.
Rev.: type as earlier groups; the wine wreath of the reverse is of the simpler type which is present on issues of Group D.

Moneyer: ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ; sphinx seated on caduceus or club.

London

B. M.:
no. 86; 2.12g, 12; ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ. **fig. 44**. Obv. Die 1

Cambridge

F. M.:
Mcl. coll. no. 8379; 2.65g, 12; ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ. **fig. 45**. Obv. Die 2

Oxford

A. M.:
Christ. C., 2.30g, 12; ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ. **fig. 46**. Obv. Die 3

Glasgow

G. U.:
Coats coll., no. 3177; 2.40g, 12; ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ. Obv. Die 2

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:
no. 1612, Falbe; 2.30g, 12; [Α]ΠΕΛΛΗΣ. **fig. 47**. Obv. Die 2

Athens

N. M.:
no. 5506a; 2.07g, 12; [Α]ΠΕΛΛΗΣ.

A. A.:
Athens Agora find, no. 944 a {inv. no. H' -2938}; 2.21, 12; ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ. **fig. 48**. Obv. Die 3

Corinth

A. M.:
Acrocorinth find, inv. no. 73-562; 2.79g, 12; ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ; published in Hesperia, 1973, p. 303, no. 62. **fig. 49**. Obv. Die 3

Paris

B. N.:
no. 3050; 2.72g, 12; [Α]ΠΕΛΛΗΣ
G. c.; weight not recorded, 12; ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ. **fig. 50**

Berlin

M. K.:
P. O. 1875; 2.45, 12; ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ. **fig. 51**. Obv. Die 3
I. B. 1900; 2.25g, 12; ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ. **fig. 52**. Obv. Die 2
F. 1873; 2.09g, 1; [Α]ΠΕΛΛΗ[Σ]. **fig. 53**. Obv. Die 4
L. 1906; 1.40g, 12; ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ. **fig. 54**. Obv. Die 5

Moneyer: APTEMHΣ; sphinx seated on staff surmounted by snake

London

B. M.:

no. 920; 2.78g, 11; APTEMHΣ. **Pl. XXIV, fig. 55.** Obv. Die 1
no. 88; 2.26g, 11; APTEMHΣ. **fig. 56.** Obv. Die 1

K. c.:

no. 30; 1.78g, 12; APTEMHΣ

Oxford

A. M.:

2.52g, 6; [A]PTEMHΣ

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:

no. 1613, V. L. 1890; 2.51g, 12; APTEMHΣ
no. 1614, V. L. 1899; 2.17g, 3; APTEMH[Σ]. **fig. 57.** Obv. Die 2

Athens

N. M.:

1891-2, Mithou, KZ' no. 336; 2.02g, 11; [APTEMHΣ]
Delos find, 1908-9, no. L7 32; 1.71g, 1; APTEMH[Σ]; publ. in Inter. Num. 1911, p. 79; overstruck on a coin of
ΞΑΝΘΙΠΠΟΣ. **fig. 58.** Obv. Die 2?
1899-1900, Christodoulou, LH' no. 3; 2.02g, 1; APTEMHΣ. **fig. 59.** Obv. Die 3
1903-4, Kanell., B' no. 18; 2.28g, 7; [A]PTEMHΣ; overstr. on foreign coin. **fig. 60.** Obv. Die 2?
1909-10, Filiou, KD'; 1.97g, 12; [A]PTEMHΣ
Kanellakis coll. 1914, KG' no. 6; 2.63g, 11; [A]PTEMHΣ
Kanellakis. coll. 1914, KG' no. 21; 2.16g, 12; [A]PTEMHΣ
Delos find; 'House of the Comediennes', no. F. 472, p. 471; weight not recorded, 11; [APTE]MHΣ. Obv. Die 2

Paris

B. N.:

no. 3058; 2.18g, 12; APTEM[HΣ]. **fig. 61.** Obv. Die 4
no. 3137; 2.24g, 12; [A]PTEMHΣ. **fig. 62.** Obv. Die 2?
G. c.: weight not recorded, 12; [A]PTEMHΣ. **fig. 63.** Obv. Die 4?
no. 3196; 2.51g, 6; APTEMHΣ. Obv. Die 2
1925:4; weight not recorded, 12; [AP]TEMHΣ. Obv. Die 2

Vienna

K. M.:

no. 18004; 2.94g, 12; [A]PTEMHΣ. Obv. Die 2

Munich

M. K.:

no.: 2.52g, 12; APTEMH[Σ]. **fig. 64.** Obv. Die 2?

T. U.:

no. 3266; 1.62g, 5

Berlin

M. K.:

no. 10731; 2.06g, 12; APTEMHΣ. **fig. 65.** Obv. Die 5
I. B. 1900; 2.10g, 12; [A]PTEMHΣ

Former Lindgren coll.:

no. 583; 2.54g, die axis not recorded; APTEMHΣ

Moneyer: ΕΥΞΕΝΟΣ: same symbols as ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ under the sphinx

London

B. M.:
no. 91; 2.13g, 12; ΕΥΞΕΝΟΣ. **fig. 66.** ΑΠΠΕΛΛΗΣ Obv. Die 2

Cambridge

F. M.:
Leake coll.; 2.77g, 12; ΕΥΞΕΝΟΣ. **fig. 67.** ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ Obv. Die
Mcl. coll., no. 8380; 2.27g, 12; [Ε]ΥΞΕΝΟΣ. **fig. 68** Obv. Die 1
Mcl. coll., no. 8381; 2.40g, 12; ΕΥΞΕΝΟΣ. **fig. 69** Obv. Die 2

Oxford

A. M.:
exchanged with Martin, 1975; 2.24g, 12; ΕΥΞΕΝΟΣ. **fig. 70** Obv. Die 3
Christch. coll; 2.47g, 12; ΕΥΞΕΝΟΣ

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:
no. 1615, V. L. 1903; 2.56g, 12; ΕΥΞΕΝΟΣ. **fig. 71** ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ Obv. Die 3

Athens

N. M.:
1911-12, Zolota, IH'; 1.95g, 12; ΕΥΞΕΝ[ΟΣ]
Delos find; ΕΥΞΕ[ΝΟΣ]; published in Inter. Num. 1913. p. 43 . **fig. 72** Obv. Die 4

Corinth

A. M.:
Acrocorinth find, inv. no. 73-563; 2.24g, 12; [Ε]ΥΞΕΝΟ[Σ]; published in Hesperia, 1973. p. 303, no. 63. **fig. 73** ΑΠΕΛΛΗΣ
Obv. Die 4

Paris

B. N.:
no. 3068; 1.92g, 12; ΕΥΞΕΝΟΣ
no. 3141; 1.86g, 6; ΕΥΞΕΝΟΣ
no. 3142; 0.69g, 12; ΕΥΞΕΝΟΣ check out
no. 3143; 2.03g, 12; ΕΥΞΕΝΟΣ
Navelle 1926; weight not recorded, 12; ΕΥΞΕΝΟ[Σ]

Vienna

K. M.:
no. 33242; 2.02g, 12; ΕΥΞΕΝΟ[Σ]. **fig. 74** Obv. Die 1?
no. 35884; 2.82g, 12; ΕΥΞΕΝΟ[Σ]

Munich

M. K.:
1.81g, 2; ΕΥΞΕΝΟΣ
1.78g, 12; ΕΥΞΕΝΟΣ

Berlin

M. K.:
I. B. 1928; 2.67g, 12; [Ε]ΥΞΕΝ[ΟΣ]. **fig. 75** Obv. Die 5
I. B. 1900; 1.47g, 12; ΕΥΞΕΝΟ[Σ]

Moneyer: ΜΗΝΟΓΕΝΗΣ; sphinx seated on club or thin line. Some of the coins show the elaborate wreath with two spheres on the top.

London

B. M.:
no. 92; 2.93g, 12; ΜΗΝΟΓΕΝ[ΗΣ]. **fig. 76** Obv. Die 1

Oxford

A. M.:
ex. New College coll.; 2.14g, 12; ΜΗΝΟΓΕΝ[ΗΣ]

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:
no. 1619, R. 10; 2.60g, 12; ΜΗΝΟΓΕΝ[ΗΣ]. **fig. 77** Obv. Die 1

Aarhus

A. U.:
no. 772; 2.23g, 12; [Μ]ΗΝΟΓ[ΕΝΗΣ]

Athens

N. M.:
1891-2, Misthou, KZ' no. 342; 3.32g, 2; ΜΗΝΟΓΕΝ[ΗΣ]
IGCH 1337:
no. 15; 2.32g, 12; ΜΗΝΟΓΕ[ΝΗΣ]. **fig. 78** Obv. Die 2

Paris

B. N.:
G. c.; weight not recorded, 12; ΜΗΝΟΓΕΝΗΣ

Vienna

K. M.:
no. 34613; 3.29g, 12; ΜΗΝΟΓΕΝΗ[Σ]. **fig. 79** Obv. Die 3

Munich

M. K.:
1.92g, 1; ΜΗΝΟΓΕΝΗ[Σ]

Moneyer: ΜΙΚΚΑΛΟΣ

Athens

N. M.:
1904-5; 1.90g, 10; ΜΙΚΚΑΛΟΣ
Kanell. coll. 1914, KG' no. 15; 2.01g, 12; [ΜΙ]ΚΚΑΛΟΣ.

Paris

B. N.:
no. 3140; 1.80g, 12; ΜΙΚΚΑΛΟ[Σ]. **fig. 80**

Moneyer: ΜΙΑΤΙΑΔΗΣ; sphinx on unidentified object

London

B. M.:
no. 95; 1.96g, 12; [M]ΙΑΤΙΑΔΗΣ; overstruck. Obv. Die 1. **fig. 81**

Oxford

A. M.:
Baldw. ex Mauro. coll. 1949; 1.85g, 12; [M]ΙΑΤΙΑ[ΔΗΣ] . Obv. Die 2. **fig. 82**

Athens

N. M.:
Delos find, 1908-9, no. L'733; 2.64g, 12; ΜΙΑΤΙΑΔΗ[Σ]; published in Num. Inter. 1911. p. 79.

Vienna

K. M.:
no. 17956; 2.37g, 12; [M]ΙΑΤΙΑΔΗ[Σ] . Obv. Die 3. **fig. 83**

Moneyer: ΚΛΕΙΔΗΣ. Sphinx seated l. on palm branch.

Cambridge

F. M.:
Leake coll.; 2.06g, 5; ΚΛΕΙΔΗΣ. Obv. Die 1. **fig. 84**

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:
no. 1618, Falbe; 2.21g, 12; ΚΛΕΙΔΗΣ

Vienna

K. M.:
no. 18003; 1.62g, 5; ΚΛΕΙΔΗΣ

Sh. Sh.:
no. 3368; 2.34g, 7; ΚΛΕΙΔΗΣ

Munich

M. K.:
no. ; 1.63g, 9; [K]ΛΕΙΔΗ[Σ]. Obv. Die 3. **fig. 85**

Berlin

M. K.:
l. 1906; 2.05g, 6; ΚΛΕΙΔΗ[Σ]

Group F c 80-50 BC

Obv.: sphinx seated to the r. lifting paw over the front of galley (in a few cases the sphinx is depicted as seated in a ship); small bunch of grapes located high in front of it.
Rev.: type as previous group though the vine wreath is of a more elaborate style depicting two large spheres on the top.

Moneyer: ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ; reverse mint symbol, cornucopia.

London

B. M.:

no. 907; 6; [Γ]ΟΡΓΙΑ[Σ]. On this issue the top of the prow of ship is visible under the sphinx. Obv. Die 1. **fig. 86**
no. 908; 2.19g, 1; ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ

Oxford

A. M.:
Baldw. {ex. Mauro. coll.}; 2.24g, 12. The reverse mint symbol on this issue is a vine leaf. Obv. Die 2. ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ. **fig. 87**

Athens

A. A.:
Athens Agora find, no. 944c; 2.85g, 12; ΓΟΡΓΙΑ[Σ]. Obv. Die 3. **fig. 88**

Moneyer: ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ

The obverse type of this issue shows the sphinx seated in a ship, since on a coin (fig. 94) the back of the ship is visible. However a few coins still use the prow of the ship as a mint symbol.

London

B. M.:
no. 912; 2.07g, 12; ΜΗΤΡΟ[ΔΩ] -ΡΟΣ. **fig. 89** Obv. Die 1, doublestruck
no. 94; 1.96g, 12; [ΜΗ]ΤΡΟΔ[Ω]-ΡΟ[Σ]
Cameron beq. 1947; 2.18g, 12 ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩ -ΡΟΣ
K. c.:
no. 752; 1.84g, 9; ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩ-ΡΟΣ
no. 805; 2.45g, 12; ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩ-ΡΟΣ

Oxford

A. M.:
ex New College coll.; 2.45g, 12; ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ. **fig. 90** Obv. Die 2
Milne 1924 ex Peterson; 1.91g, 12; [Μ]ΗΤΡΟΔ[ΩΡΟΣ]

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:
no. 1617, V. L. 1907; 1.90g, 12; ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ. **fig. 91** Obv. Die 3
no. 1620, V. L. 1892; 2.56g, 12; ΜΗΤΡΟΔ[ΩΡΟΣ]

Athens

N. M.:
IGCH 1337:
no. 16; 2.14g, 12; [Μ]ΗΤΡΟΔΩ[ΡΟΣ]. **fig. 92** Obv. Die 4
Kanell. coll. 1914. KG' no. 17; 2.10g, 10; [Μ]ΗΤΡΟΔΩ[ΡΟΣ]

A. A.:
Athens Agora find, no. 944b; 1.61g, 12; ΜΗΤΡΟΔ[ΩΡΟΣ]

Chios

K. I.:
no. 29; weight not recorded, 12; [Μ]ΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ. **fig. 93** Obv. Die 5

Paris

B. N.:
G. c.; weight not recorded, 12; ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡ[ΟΣ]. **fig. 94** Obv. Die 5

Berlin

M. K.:
P. O. 1875; 1.79g, 12; ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ
I. B. 1900; 2.18g, 9; [Μ]ΗΤΡΟΔΩ-ΡΟΣ. **fig. 95** Obv. Die 6

L. 1906: 2.07g, 11; MH[TPOΔΩ]-POΣ

Moneyer: TPYΦΩN: sphinx on this issue lifts the front paw over a symbol in front of it which is either the prow of a ship or a cantharus (most visible in fig. 100); a prow of ship symbol clearly appears in this position on the drachm signed by this moneyer and I would suggest that the same symbol may also appear on the bronze.

London

B. M.:
no. 97; 2.42g, 1; TPYΦΩN
no. 929; 1.78g, 12; TPYΦΩN ?

Athens

N. M.:
Kanell. coll. 1914, KG' no. 13; 2.75g, 12; [T]PYΦΩN

A. A.:
Athens Agora find, no. 944e; 1.98g, 11; TPYΦΩN. Overstruck on a Chian issue. **fig. 96** Obv. Die 1

Paris

B. N.:
no. 3148; 2.67g, 12; [T]PYΦΩN.
G. c.: weight not recorded, 11; TPYΦΩN. **fig. 97** Obv. Die 2

Munich

M. K.:
no.; 2.43g, 12; TPYΦΩN. **fig. 98** Obv. Die 1
no.; 3.02g, 11; TPYΦΩ[N] . **fig. 99** Obv. Die 2

Berlin

M. K.:
I. B. 1900; 2.35g, 11; TPYΦ[ΩN]. **fig. 100** Obv. Die 3

Delos find, no. F. 471; p. 401; weight not recorded, 11; TPY[Φ]Ω[N] . **fig. 101** Obv. Die 2

Denomination 19 II [not included by Maurogordato] Pl. XXIV, 'Series 19. II'. See individual issues for type description

10-11mm

chalkous

Moneyer: ZHNΩN

Obv.: sphinx seated r. bunch of grapes in front
Rev.: amphora in centre, ethic l. name of moneyer r.

London

B. M.:
864; 1.22g, 12

Oxford

A. M.:
0.73g, 12; ZHNΩ[N]. **fig. 1**

Athens

E. c.:

0.80g, 12; ZHNΩ[N]. **fig. 2**

Helsinki, forthcoming volume for SNG (information and illustration of this coin kindly sent to me by Mr. A. Aston)

ZHNΩ[N]

Moneyer: APΓEIOΣ

Cambridge

F. M.:

L. c. 1.07g, 12. APΓEI[OΣ]. **fig. 3**

Moneyer: MHNOΦIAOΣ; same types as dichalkon bearing this type (see Group D), but no mint symbol visible

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:

no. 1621, Rollin; 0.85, 12; MHNOΦ[IAOΣ]. **fig. 4**

A coin of this issue is in the Archaeological Museum at Komotini, information pending. I would like to acknowledge Dr. Hardwick for this reference.

7. Epigraphic evidence: This is very limited for Series 19 since only one name appears in a legend of an issue of this series and an inscription, generally dating to the same period. This is ΑΘΗΝΙΚΩΝ, found as a moneyer's name on an issue of Group B and also a local inscription recording victors in athletic and cultural events, which included a number of names also appearing on contemporary Chian silver issues (see pp. 238-41).⁵⁴⁵ The name is extremely rare at Chios,⁵⁴⁶ and since the general period that I have suggested for the inscription (early 2nd century BC) is not far from that proposed for the issue (see above, Group B) bearing this name I would suggest that the moneyer may have been the same as the individual attested epigraphically.

Another victorious athlete commemorated in the above inscription has the name ΜΙΑΤΙΑΔΗΣ.⁵⁴⁷ The name also appears on an issue of Series 19 dating to the early 1st century BC (see above, Group E). In this light it is unlikely that these may be identified as one and the same individual, but a possible family relationship may exist between the moneyer and athlete in light of the great rarity of this name at Chios.⁵⁴⁸

⁵⁴⁵ ΑΘΗΝΙΚΩΝ son of ΘΕΟΦΑΝΗΣ. The name occurs twice in the inscription since this athlete won the children's running competition (line 17), and wrestling (line 26). For this individual see Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 16, no. 137.

⁵⁴⁶ Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 11, does not include in any other reference to this name at Chios except for this inscription and the coin issue.

⁵⁴⁷ ΜΙΑΤΙΑΔΗΣ son of ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ, a winner in the rhapsody contest. For this individual see Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 322, no. 233.

⁵⁴⁸ Sarikakis, *ibid.* records only a further two occurrences of the name at Chios during the Hellenistic period; no. 229, father of ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝ a stoic philosopher of the 3rd century BC, and no. 230 father of ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΕΙΑ, on a gravestone generally dating to the Hellenistic period.

II. 10. DRACHMS ISSUES ON THE ‘REDUCED DENARIUS’ STANDARD (Pl. XXIV)

1. General about the issues and the standard:

As we saw in the previous chapter, the destruction of Chios in 86 BC seems to have brought an end to the issue and circulation of local drachms on the reduced Attic standard. We may assume that the banishment of the Chians, following the city’s destruction, would have caused a break in the production of coinage.

After the return of the population in 85/4 BC drachms of lighter weight seem to have been issued and placed in circulation, during a period of almost fifty years, from c. 80 BC to the mid/late 1st century BC (see below for the proposed date of these issues). Seven issues are known, bearing the names of the moneyers ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ, ΔΕΚΜΟΣ, ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ, ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ, ΣΙΛΛΙΣ, ΣΤΑΦΥΛΟΣ, ΤΡΥΦΩΝ, and a total of 24 coins is recorded in this study. The moneyers ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ and ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ share the bulk of the coinage with eight coins recorded each.⁵⁴⁹ The other issues are exceptionally rare or unique; two coins are known for each of the moneyers ΔΕΚΜΟΣ and ΣΙΛΛΙΣ, and a single coin each for ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ, ΣΤΑΦΥΛΟΣ, ΤΡΥΦΩΝ, and an unidentified moneyer.⁵⁵⁰

The drachms were struck on a lighter standard than the reduced Attic of earlier issues of Chios, and the average weight of individual issues falls between 3.57-3.31g.⁵⁵¹ This weight is too low to be considered as *reduced Attic*, a term used by Maurogordato for some of these

⁵⁴⁹ ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ also struck a drachm on a heavier standard not included here but discussed below in the chapter on drachms on ‘Attic’ standard, see pp. 339-345.

⁵⁵⁰ I have included the latter coin in this study as it appeared in the John Borek (U.S.) ‘Sale’s Coin catalogue’ (undated). Unfortunately the photograph in the catalogue is of poor quality and it is impossible to read the moneyer’s name. The details of the obverse type that are visible show stylistic similarities with issues of this series and in particular that signed by ΣΙΛΛΙΣ. As a result I have included this coin in the ‘reduced denarius’ series but as ‘unknown moneyer’, pending information on the name of the moneyer.

⁵⁵¹ Average weight of drachms of ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ: 4 coins, (another three coins have no recorded weights and a third one is too worn to have its weight included in the average): 3.54g; ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ: 6 coins (I have not recorded the weight of one coin that I have not seen, while another coin has been excluded from the weight average because it is badly corroded): 3.40g; ΔΕΚΜΟΣ: 1 coin, (the other coin is worn): 3.31g; ΣΙΛΛΙΣ: 1 coin (the other coin is worn and pierced): 3.57g; ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ: 1 coin: 3.53g; ΣΤΑΦΥΛΟΣ: 1 coin: 3.50g; ΤΡΥΦΩΝ: 1 (worn) coin: 3.40g.

issues,⁵⁵² but identical to that used at Rhodes during the 3rd century BC and before the introduction of its drachm coinage known as *plinthophoric*.⁵⁵³ In any event this Rhodian coinage was no longer circulating by the 1st century BC, the period when Chios was issuing the drachms under discussion, and therefore is unlikely to have influenced the standard at Chios.⁵⁵⁴ A few cities in Asia Minor striking drachms between the period of the Mithridatic wars and the Roman civil wars of the 40s and 30s BC (or even down to the early reign of Augustus), and contemporary with these Chian drachms (see, pp. 311-5) appear to have been using the same weight standard as that of Chios.⁵⁵⁵ It seems that the Chian drachms should be treated within the same context as the local drachms struck by cities in Asia Minor. The authors of RPC discuss these civic issues in relation to the denarius, which was becoming the most common silver issue in the region, and local drachms were probably struck on a lower variation of its standard.⁵⁵⁶

The find of a Chian lead weight, of a half-mna, bearing the ethnic of Chios and its amphora emblem, seems to form independent evidence on the existence at Chios during the late Hellenistic period of a weight standard lighter than that of the Attic and the denarius, but

⁵⁵² Maurogordato, 1916, p. 319, discusses issues of ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ, ΣΤΑΦΥΛΟΣ and ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ alongside issues on the reduced Attic standard.

⁵⁵³ These issues are discussed by R. Ashton in 'The solar disc drachms of Caria', NC 150, (1990), pp. 31-32.

⁵⁵⁴ I am indebted to Mr Ashton for pointing out this fact to me.

⁵⁵⁵ These mints include Teos, Attunda, Tabae, Stratonicea, Aphrodisias and the Lycian League; on local -civic- silver issues struck during the late Roman Republic in Asia Minor, see *RPC I*, pp. 369-370. Kinns, 1987, p. 112. f. 66, has placed part of the civic silver issues in Asia Minor in the triumviral period, and also suggests that a few may have been struck during the reign of Augustus. For a detailed discussion of an issue by Aphrodisias-Plasara dating in the late 1st century BC, with an average weight of 3.50g, and similar to that of contemporary issues at Chios, see Macdonald, 1992, p. 17. For the silver coinage of the Lycian League during the late Roman Republic and early Empire, see H. A. Troxell, *The Coinage of the Lycian League*, ANS Notes and Monographs, (N. York, 1982). In pp. 111-2, Troxell suggests that the Lycian drachms struck between the middle and later 1st century BC were equivalent to two Roman quinarii, and therefore on a reduced denarius weight standard (during this period the quinarius -theoretically half the value of the denarius- was slightly lighter than the half weight of the denarius)

⁵⁵⁶ See the previous footnote where Lycian drachms from the same period as the Chian drachm series under discussion, are considered as reduced denarii. For a good account on the introduction and gradual dominance of the denarius in Greece and Asia Minor, see A. Burnett, *Coinage in the Roman World*, (London, 1987), pp. 47-48, with map in p. 38. The denarius began circulating in large numbers in the Greek mainland from the early 1st century BC, and in Asia Minor during the 40s and 30s BC.

heavier than the cistophoric.⁵⁵⁷ The lead weight is 226.18g -it is in good condition and has not lost any weight through wear or damage- giving a drachm of approximately 3.50g. The weight standard is clearly that of the 'reduced denarius' on which Chios struck coinage between c 80-50 BC and at no other period during the Hellenistic period.

None of the issues of different moneyers in this drachm series shared an obverse die in common, but generally, types are stylistically similar (see below). Die studies show that in contrast to the great rarity of the coinage today, this would have been a common silver coinage at the time it was issued, rivalling in volume the largest drachm issues of Chios. Out of eight coins recorded for ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ I have studied six, and all proved to have been struck with different obverse dies.⁵⁵⁸ Eight coins were also recorded for the ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ issue on this weight standard of which I have studied seven. The die study for this issue produced four -or possibly five- different obverse dies.⁵⁵⁹ The two known drachms of the ΔΕΚΜΟΣ issue were struck by different obverse dies. For the issue signed by ΣΙΛΛΙΣ it has not been possible to determine with certainty if the two known coins were struck with the same obverse die, or two different ones, since the details of the types of one of the coins are not clear.

The rarity of this coinage may be attributed to its standard, since it was not commonly used outside Chios and the few cities in Asia Minor striking contemporary civic drachms of similar weight. The weight standard of these Chian drachms, as we saw, was lighter than the denarius that was beginning to circulate in most Greek cities, but at the same time heavier

⁵⁵⁷ The weight was published by M. Amandry, 1989, pp. 97-8, no. 18, who placed it in general during the Hellenistic period.

⁵⁵⁸ For obverse dies of this issue see illustrations of drachms in Pl. XXV. Die 1: fig. 4, Die 2: fig. 5, Die 3: fig. 6, Die 4: fig. 7, Die 5: fig. 8, Die 6: fig. 9. Note that the coin in Naples Archaeological Museum was not available for study. 6 reverse dies were also recorded, see the coin catalogue for the listing of a die study of this issue.

⁵⁵⁹ Obverse dies used in this issue. Die 1: figs. 10, 17; Die 2: figs. 11, 13; Die 3: figs. 12; Die 4: fig. 16. The obverse of the coin illustrated in fig. 14 was probably struck with die no. 3, or a different die to the rest of the issue -note that the same obverse die was also used in the issue of this moneyer on the Attic standard discussed below in a different chapter. All known coins of this moneyer on the 'reduced denarius' standard have been struck with different reverse dies (a total of 7 reverse dies recorded, see the coin catalogue for a full listing of the die study).

than the cistophoric weight standard -mostly represented by issues of the tetradrachm- still in use by many regions of Asia Minor (Burnett, 1987, pp. 41-42; *RPC I*, p. 28). The drachms seem to be absent from known hoards in the Eastern Roman provinces, suggesting that they would probably have been sent to the melting pot upon entering into circulation in most regions outside Chios, where the denarius or the cistophoric tetradrachm were used. The same fate may also have been reserved for the other contemporary local silver coinages struck on a similar standard to Chios and which are known today from a tiny number of coins and also appear to be missing from hoards of the late Republic and early Empire.⁵⁶⁰

No tetradrachm issues were struck at Chios during the 1st century BC and probably the Athenian New Style tetradrachms continued to be used in large transactions on the island until the late 40's BC, when this coinage ceased to be struck.⁵⁶¹ Afterwards Chios would probably have been using for large transactions the cistophoric tetradrachm, struck at mints in Asia Minor, and which appear to have been common during the 30s BC.⁵⁶² As I discuss on p. 315 the standard of drachms of Chios appear by this time to have been adjusted to the cistophoric standard, something probably caused by the circulation of this tetradrachm at Chios.

2. Proposed dating: Drachms of this series are lighter than those belonging to the final issues on the reduced Attic standard and are also stylistically different. The two series do not seem to

⁵⁶⁰ Hoards of these periods from Asia Minor contain a mixture of cistophorii and denarii, see *RPC I*, p. 368, where only one local civic drachm, an issue of Kibyra, is recorded as found in a hoard of silver coinage (Halicarnassus, 1975). Macdonald, 1992, p. 17, also notes the absence of drachms of Aphrodisias-Plasara from hoards of this period.

⁵⁶¹ According to Kroll, *Athens Agora XXVI*, p. 15 & pp. 89-91, this coinage seems to have ended in 42/1 BC.

⁵⁶² There is some evidence that cistophoric tetradrachms may have been finding their way to Chios even before the demise of the Athenian New Style tetradrachms. Two cistophoric tetradrachms of the mint of Pergamum found in the Gridia hoard at Chios date in the 70's BC and were deposited in this hoard probably around that time. This suggests that it is likely that the tetradrachms may have circulated at Chios earlier than proposed here, though the appearance of this coinage at Chios at the time may be a short-lived consequence of the Mithridatic wars which caused certain coinages -including cistophoric tetradrachms and denarii- to circulate in areas of different standards; on this topic, see Kleiner, 1974, pp. 19-25 & Papageorgiadou, 1986, pp. 184-90. For cistophoric tetradrachms struck during the late Republic and early reign of Augustus see *RPC I*, p. 368.

have been hoarded together since the published late Hellenistic hoards (dating c 86 BC) containing Chian drachms only included coins of the last reduced Attic standard. The same may also apply for the known groups of Chian drachms which are likely to have formed part of hoards. All coins in these groups are of the reduced Attic standard with not a single specimen of the 'reduced denarius' type (on these hoards and coin groups, see pp. 210-3). This evidence shows that the issue and circulation of the drachm series on the 'reduced denarius' may not have overlapped with that of reduced Attic drachms. Their issue would therefore have followed sometime after the end of the latter's circulation as a result of the Pontic siege of Chios in c 86 BC.

The likely period for the introduction of the reduced denarius drachms at Chios is indicated by the Gridia hoard which was deposited on the island sometime during the 70's BC. No coins of the 'reduced denarius' standard were included in this hoard suggesting that they may not have been yet available in circulation at the time of the hoard's deposit.⁵⁶³ Nevertheless other evidence quoted below shows that the first issue of this series may probably have been struck around 70 BC.

Bronze issues sharing the same moneyers' names with the drachms on the 'reduced denarius' provide us with evidence as to the approximate period of issue of the drachms. As we saw in pp. 292-7, issues in the final group of Series 19 (Group F) are dated to the period c 80-60 BC and were succeeded, sometime around the middle of the century, by issues of Series 20. Three moneyers, ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ, ΤΡΥΦΩΝ and ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ, struck bronze issues in Group F of Series 19, and their names also appear on drachms of the 'reduced denarius' standard. An identical style and common mint symbols are shared between the silver and bronze coinages,

⁵⁶³ The fact that the Gridia hoard was composed of issues of the reduced Attic standard would not have excluded the inclusion of 'reduced denarius' drachms -had they been issued at the time- since the reduced Attic drachms in this hoard were mostly light weight issues, similar in weight to drachms of this series; see pp. 264-5, for a discussion of these issues.

signed with the same names, confirming that these issues were struck concurrently by the same moneyers.⁵⁶⁴ The proposed date of the bronze issues of c 80-60 BC (Series 19) would therefore also apply for these drachms.

Of the three moneyers mentioned above, ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ issued drachms bearing types that are stylistically the closest to types of the issues of the last group of drachms (Group F) on the reduced Attic weight.⁵⁶⁵ The fact that this issue also includes some of the heaviest coins in the series⁵⁶⁶ is further indication that ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ was probably the first to issue drachms in this series since, as we will see, the standard, seems to have been steadily declining over the period it was used at Chios. The issue may therefore date sometime after the re-establishment of the city of Chios in c 84 BC, and probably during the 70s BC. This issue also provides us with the earliest known example of the depiction of the name as two parts in the legend (ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩ-ΡΟΣ); this feature never appeared before on the coinage at Chios but from now on it will become standard for long names of moneyers.⁵⁶⁷

Another piece of evidence suggesting a post-86 BC date for the earliest of the drachms on the 'reduced denarius' standard seems to be found in the obverse type showing the sphinx seated within a ship and holding a torch fire (ΔΕΚΜΟΣ). As I discuss in the chapter on the

⁵⁶⁴ Compare drachms of ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ illustrated Pl. XXV, figs. 4-9, with bronze issues of the same moneyer, illustrated Pl. XXIV, figs. 89-95; the drachm of ΤΡΥΦΩΝ illustrated Pl. XXV, fig. 21, with bronze issues of the same moneyer, illustrated Pl. XXIV, figs. 96-101; the drachm of ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ illustrated, Pl. XXV, fig. 1, with bronze issues of the same moneyer, illustrated Pl. XXIV, fig. 86-88.

⁵⁶⁵ Compare the types on drachms of the last group (Group F) of the reduced Attic standard, with types appearing on the different issues belonging to this series. Of the early drachms on the 'reduced denarius' standard only the sphinx on the ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ issue bears a general similarity to that present on the earlier series (see in particular the curved wing, and other details of its body). This similarity in style drove Maugordato to include drachm issues of ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ in the same group with issues of reduced Attic weight drachms, which however is not the case since this issue typologically belongs to the series of the 'reduced denarius' standard -not the series on the 'reduced Attic'- something also suggested from the weight standard of this issue as well as other features

⁵⁶⁶ See for example fig. 4, a coin weighing of 3.71g, and fig. 5 with a weight of 3.63g.

⁵⁶⁷ In earlier issues long name legends were either abbreviated or die engravers cut smaller letters in order to include all the name in the same line. As I discuss in the series on the reduced Attic standard for Group A (p. 217), Maugordato believed that certain issues of the moneyer ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΣ used this style for recording his name and therefore dated them in the 1st century BC. However the study of the coins showed that this observation was wrong since the name in fact appears in a single line, not two.

typology (pp. 577-8), this is likely to refer to the homecoming of the Chians in c 84 BC and therefore the series bearing this type would have been struck after this event.

The moneyer ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ signed bronze coinage for both Series 19 and Series 20 (the latter issue is discussed in pp. 325-35) but his drachm is stylistically identical to the issue of Series 19.⁵⁶⁸ The moneyer ΔΕΚΜΟΣ who signed a drachm issue of this series was certainly the same as the moneyer of this name who was in charge of bronze issues belonging to Series 20.⁵⁶⁹ No bronze coinage is known bearing the name of ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ, but issues of Series 20 signed by moneyers ΑΣΠΑΣΙΟΣ, ΜΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ and ΖΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ are identical in style with types of this moneyer's drachm.⁵⁷⁰ There can be little doubt that the same die engraver produced the dies for these drachm and bronze issues. Finally it is worth noting that ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ was the first moneyer to strike coinage with die axis other than 12 o'clock, since two of his drachms are at 5 o'clock though his remaining drachms were still struck with dies fixed at 12 o'clock. The use by the Chian mint of a die axis other than 12 o'clock cannot be dated with accuracy, it is however a late development not recorded on the coinage of Chios earlier than the 1st century BC.⁵⁷¹

The mint of Teos seems to provide us with some external evidence on the proposed date of issue for these Chian drachms. During the mid 1st century BC this mint issued some

⁵⁶⁸ Compare the drachm illustrated Pl. XXV, fig. 1, with bronze issues of this moneyer of Series 19, illustrated Pl. XXIV, figs. 86-88 and Series 20, illustrated, Pl. XXVI, figs. 7-9. The style of the amphora and the sphinx type of the drachm are closer to bronzes of Series 19. Another important feature that helps to classify the drachm alongside Series 19, and not Series 20, is the letter forms appearing in the legends. The letter A with straight middle bar is visible for both this drachm and issues of Series 19, while this moneyer used the letter form with the broken middle bar exclusively on issues of Series 20. As I discuss below during the 1st century BC the use of the *alpha* with broken middle bar seems to have succeeded chronologically this letter with the straight bar.

⁵⁶⁹ Compare drachms of this moneyer illustrated in Pl. XXV, figs. 2-3 with bronze issues Pl. XXVI, figs. 10-12. Bronze issues of this moneyer also bear the same mint symbol, a wreath, as his drachm.

⁵⁷⁰ Compare the obverse die of drachms of ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ illustrated in Pl. XXV, figs. 11, 13, with the obverse die used from bronze issues of ΑΣΠΑΣΙΟΣ illustrated in Pl. XXVI, figs. 1, 4-5; obverse die of ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ illustrated in Pl. XXV, fig. 16 with the obverse die of ΑΣΠΑΣΙΟΣ, Pl. XXVI, fig. 2, ΖΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ, Pl. XXVI, fig. 13 and ΜΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ, Pl. XXVI, fig. 14.

⁵⁷¹ This is borne out of the study of the die axis of all earlier issues which always show 12 o'clock or slight variations (11 or 1 o'clock).

rare drachms on the same standard as that of the Chian series under discussion.⁵⁷² As we saw, a number of other mints -mostly located in south-western Asia Minor- are known to have used a similar standard during the 1st century BC. However Teos and Chios are located close by, and the use at both mints of an identical standard suggests that the drachms of these cities were probably issued within a common monetary system.⁵⁷³ The Tean drachms may therefore be contemporary with the Chian issues though it would seem at Chios the issue of drachms was on a larger scale and over a longer period than Teos.

3. Group division: The association of these drachms with bronze issues belonging to either Series 19 or 20, has made it possible to place chronologically the series in the period between c. 80 BC and the early reign of Octavian-Augustus. Based on the evidence of the bronze coinage I have also classified the drachms in two successive groups. The earlier group consists of issues that are linked to Series 19 -through style and the appearance of moneyer's names in common- and signed by ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ, ΣΤΑΦΥΛΟΣ, ΤΡΥΦΩΝ, ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ and possibly ΣΙΑΛΙΣ;⁵⁷⁴ these are likely to date before c. 60 BC. The later group, consisting of issues of ΔΕΚΜΟΣ and ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ, are linked to Series 20 and would date about the middle of the 1st century BC or slightly later.⁵⁷⁵

⁵⁷² Kinns, 1980, p. 237, was the first to suggest that the standard of these drachms of Teos is similar to that of some Hellenistic drachms of Chios (without however specifying which of the island's drachms he was referring to). Five coins from this issue of Teos are known, and their weights are 3.16g, 3.42g, 3.58g, 3.23g (corroded) and 3.73g (the first three coins were recorded by Kinns, 1980, p. 237 & p. 525, no. 159, and the other two were acquired by Dr. Kinns in recent years and recorded for the first time by Ashton, 1997, p. 37, f. 47). Such a weight pattern is identical to that of issues of ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ (weights of known specimens: 3.08g, 3.13g, 3.47g, 3.68g, 3.71g), ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ (weights of issues on the 'reduced denarius': 3.10g, 3.24g, 3.37g, 3.39g, 3.39g, 3.47g, 3.52g) and the other known Chian issues in this series with weights between 3.21g-3.57g.

⁵⁷³ I discuss elsewhere in the study other instances where issues of Chios and Teos of the 1st century BC seem to be stylistically or typologically linked (see Series 20, 21, 23, and drachms on the Attic standard discussed below) reinforcing the idea of a cooperation between the mints of two cities in the striking of coinage.

⁵⁷⁴ The drachm of ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ, as we saw, seems to be linked to his issue in Series 19 rather than that of Series 20. This proposed link would classify his drachm in the earlier group of moneyers striking drachms in this series. I would also add in the same group the coin illustrated in fig. 21, with unknown name of moneyer. It shares a common reverse type and mint symbol with the ΣΤΑΦΥΛΟΣ issue but, as far as I can say, its sphinx type is identical to that of ΣΙΑΛΙΣ, not ΣΤΑΦΥΛΟΣ. The issue provides us with a link between the two above moneyers, and this particular issue could also be added to the same group alongside these issues. However we cannot exclude the possibility that one of the two moneyers could have struck this coin.

⁵⁷⁵ Issues of the second group fall within the period considered by the authors of *RPC I*

In general, drachms belonging to the first group are of a heavier weight than those in the second, pointing to a steady decline in the weight standard at Chios during the 1st century BC. Eventually, as we will see (pp. 370-5), Chios adopted the cistophoric standard and the evidence here would suggest that this may have been initiated by the decline in weight during this period. Another feature distinguishing the two groups is the reverse type; on issues of the earlier group this type is enclosed by a dotted circle -copying the type appearing on the latest drachms of the reduced Attic standard- while for issues of the later group (of 'reduced denarius') the dotted circle has been replaced with a vine wreath.⁵⁷⁶

The proposed period of issue for drachms on the 'reduced denarius' suggests that they may have represented money issued to finance the rebuilding of the city of Chios, following the end of the 1st Mithridatic War and the return of its population from exile (on this topic see the discussion in the chapter on the economy, pp. 658-660). As we saw, the die study of two of these issues, signed by the moneyers ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ and ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ, have revealed that the quantity of drachms struck would have been large. ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ was probably the first to issue coinage in the series -on account of stylistic and typological similarities between types of this issue and the final issues on the reduced Attic standard- which may suggest that the financing of the reconstruction of Chios started not long after c 84 BC.⁵⁷⁷ All dies used by this moneyer

⁵⁷⁶ I have chosen to deal with all of these issues here, within the same series, because of the small number of coins known, the relatively short time span of the issues and the fact that, despite a small fluctuation in weight noted between the earlier and later issues, it seems that the same standard may have been maintained throughout the duration of the issue of the series. Maurogordato, 1917, pp. 207-256, also divided issues of this series into separate groups but classified the heavier coins with groups of drachms on the 'reduced' Attic standard and lighter ones alongside drachms on the cistophoric standard. However these coins form a distinctive type which belongs to neither standard (Attic or cistophoric) and as such they are of significance to contemplate aspects of the monetary system at Chios during the late Roman Republic.

⁵⁷⁷ The rebuilding of the city walls would have consumed large amounts of money. In this light it is unfortunate that we cannot be certain about the date of Cicero's visit to the island which coincided with this large scale project. Sarikakis, 1970, p. 189; Idem, 1975, p. 368, f. 1, considers two different dates during which this visit may have taken place; either the early 70's BC while Cicero was studying at Athens or later, in 51 BC while travelling eastwards to take over as governor of the province of Cilicia. Sarikakis plausibly considers the first date as most likely, since Cicero was a student at the time and would have had more free time to travel. In this case, work on the city walls may have started soon after the Chians returned from exile.

are stylistically identical and almost certainly the work of a single die engraver and may have been produced within a short period. This large quantity of coins is likely therefore to have been struck over a short period and may be linked with a large expense of the state paid within a short period. The ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ issue was struck a few years later, (see the previous page) indicating that the reconstruction of Chios may have continued for some time.⁵⁷⁸ In contrast to the issue of ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ, several different styles can be detected in the issues of ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ and this coinage is likely to have been produced over a longer period than that of ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ.⁵⁷⁹

4. Countermarked drachm: One of the drachms signed by ΔΕΚΜΟΣ bears a countermark showing an anchor, (Pl. XXV, fig. 3) a symbol which is not associated with Chios and was probably applied in a foreign region. The worn condition of the coin is indicative of a circulation long after the mid/late 1st century BC, when I propose that its issue was struck, and the first half of the 1st century AD is the most likely period when the coin was countermarked.

The coin weighs 3.08g and has suffered considerable loss of weight through wear and clipping -note that the other ΔΕΚΜΟΣ drachm showing few signs of circulation weighs 3.31g- and this weight agrees well with the cistophoric standard at 3.15g. I would suggest that this coin would have circulated as a cistophoric drachm, and not as one of the 'reduced denarius' coins, almost certainly in a region where this standard was used.

⁵⁷⁸ As we saw in the historical background, pp. 42-43, Josephus records that during the late 1st century BC Chios owed money to the Roman fiscus. It is likely that these debts may have represented loans taken out by authorities of Chios to pay for the continued reconstruction of the city down to the early reign of Augustus.

⁵⁷⁹ This would depend on the status of moneyers and if they were serving annually, or struck issues over a longer period. We should also note the fact that though types appearing on drachms of ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ are stylistically different this on its own does not constitute evidence that he was striking coinage over a long period but that several engravers might have been working together at the mint at the same time. On the whole I would favour the first possibility.

The authority responsible for the countermarking is not certain. Howgego discusses three different anchor countermarks that are found on Eastern Roman provincial coinages dating to the Julio-Claudian period. None of these, however, are known for silver coins.⁵⁸⁰ This type of countermark is found on coins of the kingdom of Coele, Syria, dating in the 30's BC, probably used by a local mint; on a coin of Rhoemetaces I, king of Thrace, possibly a countermark of the mint of Apollonia on the Black Sea coast; a number of issues of Commagene almost certainly countermarked locally since the anchor was the dynastic emblem of the local ruling dynasty.⁵⁸¹

It is worth noting that all three anchor countermarks were applied on coins of client kingdoms of the early Imperial period. Chios is known to have had close ties with at least two of these at the time, the kingdoms of Thrace and Commagene (see the discussion in the chapter on the economy, pp. 662-3). The coin may therefore have found its way in any of the two kingdoms, but the case of Commagene seems more attractive since an exchange of visits between high officials of Chios and Commagene is recorded as having taken place during the reign of Antiochus IV between 37 and 72 AD.⁵⁸²

5. Epigraphic evidence: A number of published Chian inscriptions dating between the middle and late 1st century BC seem to bear evidence on most moneyers of this series, since they include names in common with those appearing on the issues. An inscription discussed in detail by L. Robert and dated by him to the end of the Roman Republic or the beginning of the Imperial period, records honours bestowed by workers of the harbour of Chios on their

⁵⁸⁰ C. J. Howgego, *Greek Imperial Countermarks*, (London, 1985), pp. 175-6.

⁵⁸¹ Howgego, no. 370 (Coele Syria), no. 371 (Thrace), nos. 372-3 (Commagene).

⁵⁸² L. Robert, 1938, p. 140-2, an inscription recording that a Chian official visited Antiochus at his court in Commagene and received from him a donation which he brought back to Chios. IG XII, 5-6, no. 490, another inscription recording a donation of Antiochus brought back to Chios by one of the island's officials. Almost certainly Antiochus IV would have visited Chios more than once -together with his entourage- judging from references to him in Chian inscriptions.

officials.⁵⁸³ The names of two eponymous archons, ΔΕΚΜΟΣ and ΑΕΩΝΙΔΗΣ].⁵⁸⁴ are included in the heading of the inscription for dating purposes. Both names are also found on contemporary drachms, an issue on the ‘reduced denarius’ standard and one on the ‘Attic’ standard.⁵⁸⁵ Maurogordato (1917, p. 216) dated these issues to the reign of Augustus⁵⁸⁶ and this proposed date was used by Robert as basis for identifying the eponymous archons mentioned in the inscription with the respective namesake moneyers who signed the drachm issues.⁵⁸⁷ Furthermore Robert considered the possibility that from this period onwards the eponymous archon at Chios had his name inscribed on the coinage, something that was already common practice in many other Greek cities by this time (L. Robert, p. 539).

Robert's theory seems to have gained additional support from another Chian inscription which was not known to him at the time he published his theory. This is an extensive catalogue of names engraved over a period of two centuries between c 150 BC and the mid 1st century AD (G. Forrest, IG XII, 6, 1960, no. 381, pp. 103-107). Forrest has plausibly considered this to be a record of the names of eponymous archons at Chios during this period and in the section dated by him to the period 50-1 BC the names of ΣΤΑΦΥΛΟΣ and

⁵⁸³ L. Robert in REG XLII, 1929, 35/8; Idem, 1933, pp. 537-9; the inscription is also discussed by W. G. Forrest in IG XII 6, no. 382

⁵⁸⁴ The name was reconstructed by Studniczka, 1888, p. 171 as ΑΕΩΝΤΟΣ] but this was dismissed by all later experts who subsequently studied the inscription (L. Robert, G. Forrest, Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 290, no. 55; see the previous footnote).

⁵⁸⁵ The latter issue is discussed in the following chapter on drachms of the Attic standard (pp. 339-345). These coins, as we will see, are of the same general period as drachms on the ‘reduced denarius’, though struck on a different standard to these coins. The name of ΑΕΩΝΙΔΗΣ is only found in inscriptions of the 1st century BC which always seem to refer to a magistrate bearing the title of eponymous archon.

⁵⁸⁶ His date was based solely on stylistical criteria but is not far from the one proposed here on stronger evidence.

⁵⁸⁷ Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 107, nos. 33 and 34, agrees with Robert in identifying the two magistrates with the namesake moneyers. Robert failed to notice an important piece of evidence adding weight to his identification of the moneyer ΔΕΚΜΟΣ with the namesake eponymous magistrate of the city. The mint symbol appearing on his issues is a wreath, very likely to be an allusion to the office of the eponymous magistrate, officially known at Chios as *stephaneforos* (‘he of the wreath’). On the importance of this office in the Chian government see Vanseveren, ‘Inscriptions de Chios’, pp. 344-7. For a full discussion of the potential symbolism of mint marks on the ancient coinage of Chios, see in this study the chapter on typology, pp. 612-8.

ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ appear in the same listing.⁵⁸⁸ Both names, as we saw, are also recorded on issues of the ‘reduced denarius’ standard, dating within the period proposed for the engraving of this section of the inscription. This is probably further evidence linking moneyers with holders of the office of eponymous archon.

It may be noted that the four names of ΛΕΩΝΙΔΗΣ, ΔΕΚΜΟΣ, ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ, ΣΤΑΦΥΛΟΣ, which are attested in contemporary inscriptions and coin issues, are rare.

The name ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ appears at Chios on two different inscriptions both dating from the 2nd-1st centuries BC.⁵⁸⁹ One of these records a father and son of the same name, suggesting that this was a family name, probably restricted to a single individual in each generation. The name ΔΕΚΜΟΣ originates from *Decimus*, the common Roman name, though it is not clear if this moneyer was a Roman citizen, resident at Chios, or a Chian who adopted a Latin name without however holding Roman citizenship (Sarikakis, 1970, p. 198). This name also appears in a Chian inscription where an individual of this name holds the office of ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣ⁵⁹⁰ (see above for other inscriptions with this name). Sarikakis (1989, pp. 107-8, no. 35) generally dates this inscription to the early Roman Imperial period and does not exclude the possibility that this individual may have been the same with the namesake magistrate mentioned in the above inscription.⁵⁹¹

I have already mentioned the appearance of the name of ΣΤΑΦΥΛΟΣ in what is probably a catalogue of eponymous magistrates of Chios. In another inscription of the same general period there is further reference to an important figure bearing this name (G. W. Forrest, SEG

⁵⁸⁸ Euangelides, 29, no. 13a; Forrest, *ibid*; Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 371, (ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ) and, p. 410, (ΣΤΑΦΥΛΟΣ)). Sarikakis also accepts Forrest’s proposed date of the second half of the 1st century BC for this section of the inscription.

⁵⁸⁹ ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ son of ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ: A. Stephanou, *Χιακή Επιθεώρησις* 35, 1974, 82, no. 2; Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 371, no. 63. ΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΗΣ son of ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ: Αθηνά 1908, p. 212, no. 10, line 16; Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 133, no. 233; dating 2nd-1st century.

⁵⁹⁰ A. Sarou, *Το Κάστρον της Χίου*, (‘The castle of Chios’), in Αθηνά 28, 1916, p. 158-166, p. 166, no. 14, line 7.

⁵⁹¹ The office of ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣ was inferior to that of the eponymous magistrate and if ΔΕΚΜΟΣ was the same individual then he may held these offices during different periods.

22, (1967), pp. 160-175, nos. 496-532, no. 507). The inscription records the letter of an unnamed governor of the province of Asia during the reign of Augustus to the Chians concerning his arbitration in a dispute between locals and Roman residents of Chios. What seems to have caused the dispute is the ownership of the property of a citizen of Chios named ΣΤΑΦΥΛΟΣ which was claimed by both parties (Marshall, 1971, pp. 263-6).⁵⁹²

Sarikakis believes that this individual must have lived probably during the middle of the 1st century BC some time prior to the dispute over his property.⁵⁹³ Marshall argues that he may have been active at the time of the 1st Mithridatic War and its aftermath.⁵⁹⁴ Taking into consideration the rarity of the name and the contemporarity of the references to the individuals -eponymous archon, property owner, and moneyer- it is likely that we are dealing here with a single individual, a Chian notable who lived during the 1st century BC and held a number of different offices throughout his lifetime.⁵⁹⁵

The fact that the names discussed here as attested epigraphically also appear on issues that are of the same general period as the inscriptions makes L. Robert's theory, on the role of the eponymous archon as the moneyer in charge of the coinage at Chios during the 1st century BC, even more plausible.

⁵⁹² For the importance of the inscription on the relations between Chios and Roman residents, see p. 37.

⁵⁹³ Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 410, no. 65. There is a printer's mistake in the heading of his reference to this individual recording that he lived around the mid 1st century AD. However this is corrected in the text where it is stated 'that he seems (*Staphylos*) to have lived around the middle of the 1st century BC'.

⁵⁹⁴ Marshall, *ibid*, considers that the dispute was linked to changes in the ownership of land at Chios during and after the 1st Mithridatic War. He suggests that soon after the war ended, certain Chians, presumably powerful and influential, may have been tempted to seize land that had once belonged to Roman landowners who fled the island at the start of the war (presumably the Romans would have returned to Chios sometime after the local Chians exiled to the Euxine). This would have resulted in creating disputes over the land ownership between the returning Romans and locals who had taken possession of it during their absence. Marshall's theory would imply that ΣΤΑΦΥΛΟΣ would have been one of the Chian ring leaders in the land dispute and therefore active during the middle 1st century BC.

⁵⁹⁵ We may also note here that this highly official inscription refers to ΣΤΑΦΥΛΟΣ without his patronymic -the inscription is not broken at this point- suggesting a well known and important figure in Chian society; probably not many known individuals in Chian society would have had this name. Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 410, no. 64, only includes a further one occurrence of the name, during the Roman Imperial period, a magistrate recorded in an inscription dating c 1-40 AD; he may have been a grandson of the 1st century BC namesake.

DRACHM ISSUES ON THE ‘REDUCED DENARIUS’ STANDARD c 80-30 BC

Obv.: sphinx seated to the l. (with a few exceptions r.) on line or various objects, bunch of grapes high in front of its breast; some issues show the prow of a galley in front of the sphinx; all within a dotted circle consisting of large dots.
Rev.: amphora in the centre; name of moneyer in the field r., and ethnic legend XIOΣ in the field to the l.: a symbol is found in most issues l. of the ethnic; all within a dotted circle consisting of large dots or a vine wreath.

Moneyer: ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ: reverse mint symbol, bird, in the the ethnic break. The reverse is enclosed in a vine wreath[M. 668]

Berlin
M. K.:
P. O. 1875; 19.00 mm, 3.53g, 12; ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ. **fig. 1***

Moneyer: ΔΕΚΜΟΣ: the sphinx type of this drachm is presented and discussed in detail in the chapter on typology, pp. 576-7. The reverse is enclosed in a vine wreath [M. 69]

Paris
B. N.:
W. c., no. 3039; 19.00 mm, 3.31g, 12; ΔΕΚ[ΜΟΣ]. **fig. 2***

Berlin
M. K.:
L. 1906; 18.00 mm. 3.08g, 12; ΔΕΚΜΟ[Σ]; anchora cmk. in the centre of amphora; coin is clipped and worn. **fig. 3**

Moneyer: ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ: reverse mint symbol, acrostulium, to the l. of the ethnic. The reverse type is enclosed in a circle of dots. [66γ] Average weight (5 coins): 3.45g

Cambridge
F. M.:
M. c., no. 8374; 20.50 mm, 3.71g, 12; ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩ; O 1, R 1. **fig. 4 ***

Glasgow
G. U.:
H. c., Chios no. 3; 3.63g, 12; ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩ-ΡΟΣ; O 2, R 2. **fig. 5 ***

Paris
B. N.:
no. 3033; 18.00, 3.08, 12; ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩ. Coin is worn; O 3, R 3. **fig. 6**

Naples
N. M.:
no. 11340; weight and die axis not recorded; Fiorelli, 1870, not illustrated but the legend is rendered as [M]ΗΤΡΟΔΩ-ΡΟΣ

Berlin
M. K.:
P. O. 1875; 3.13g, 12; ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩ. O 4, R 4. **fig. 7 ***

Ex Hindamian coll. {ex Bourgey coll.}
no. 236; 3.47g; ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩ; O 5, R 5. **fig. 8 ***

Ex Collignon coll.: Feuardent and Freres sale in Med. Grec. antiques, Paris, 1919
no. 346; weight and die axis not recorded; ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩ; O 6, R 6. **fig. 9**

Superior Gallery Sale. Dec. 1990, no. 9
no. 2071; 3.35g; ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ; not illustrated. *

Moneyer: ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ: drachms of various styles, all of which are die linked. Legends appearing on coins of this issue show both forms for the *alpha*, with broken or straight middle bar. Sphinx is seated on club lifting on a few coins a front paw over bunch of grapes. The reverse is enclosed in a vine wreath. [M. 74] Average weight (7 coins): 3.35g

London
B. M.:
no. 849; 3.37g, 12. ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑ[Σ]; sphinx r., lifts paw over bunch of grapes. O 1. R 1. **fig. 10 ***

Copenhagen
D. N. M.:

no. 1625 {acq. in 1939}; 3.39g, 12; ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ; sphinx r., does not lift paw. O 2, R 2. **fig. 11 ***

Paris

B. N.:

W. c., no. 3034; 3.39g, 12; ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ; sphinx l., does not lift paw. O 3, R 3. **fig. 12 ***

Turin

A. M.:

no. 4142; 3.10g, die axis not recorded

Berlin

M. K.:

F. 1873; 19.00 mm, 3.24g, 12; ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ; sphinx r., does not lift paw. O 2, R 4. **fig. 13 ***

P.O. 1875; 3.47g, 5; ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ; sphinx l., does not lift paw. O 3?, R 5. **fig. 14 ***

I. B. 1900; 3.52g, 5; ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ; sphinx r., lifts paw over bunch of grapes. O 1, R 6. **fig. 16 ***

New York

A. N. S.:

1944.100.47244; 2.68g, 11; ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ; coin is worn and corroded, O 1, R 7. **fig. 17**

Moneyer: ΣΙΑΛΙΣ; reverse mint symbol, palm branch, to the l. of the amphora. The reverse type is enclosed in a circle of dots [M. 74]

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:

no. 1626; 3.21g, 12; ΣΙΑΛΙΣ; coin is pierced and worn. **fig. 18**

Paris

B. N.:

W. c., no. 3046; 18.00 mm, 3.57g, 12; ΣΙΑΛΙΣ. **fig. 19 ***

Moneyer: ΣΤΑΦΥΛΟΣ; reverse mint symbol, a caduceus, l. of the ethnic. Letter *alpha* shows the form with the broken middle bar. The reverse type is enclosed in a circle of dots [M. 66γ]

Berlin

M. K.:

I. B. 1900; 19.00 mm, 3.50g, 11; ΣΤΑΦΥΛΟΣ. **fig. 20 ***

Moneyer: ΤΡΥΦΩΝ; reverse mint symbol, a caduceus, in the ethnic break. The reverse type is enclosed in a circle of dots. The coin was unknown to Maurogordato

Obv.: sphinx seated to the l.

London

B. M.:

no. 848; 3.40g, 2; ΤΡΥΦΩΝ. This coin was part of the Rodolfo Ratto collection and bought by the British Museum at the auction of this coin collection in 1927, **fig. 21**

Moneyer: unknown; reverse mint symbol, a caduceus, l. of the ethnic. The reverse type is enclosed in a circle of dots. Though this mint symbol appears in the ΣΤΑΦΥΛΟΣ issue the sphinx type seems to be identical to that of ΣΙΑΛΙΣ. **fig. 22**

Correction note: Pl. XXV, fig. 15 is the same coin as Pl. XXV, fig. 10

II. 11. SERIES 20 (Pl. XXVI)

1. General aspects: The series comprises a small number of issues of different moneyers sharing an identical style and struck from common obverse dies. The module of the coins (12-13 mm) and their weight (1.90 g, average of 29 coins which have recorded weights) is similar to that of the dichalkon of Series 19; almost certainly these issues would have been of the same denomination. A definite link between this series and the final group of Series 19 has been established by the appearance of the name ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ, in issues of both series. It is clear that there could not have been a long interval between the two series, a fact which is also borne out from other evidence presented and discussed below in this chapter.

Four more moneyers are known to have signed issues in this series, ΑΣΠΑΣΙΟΣ, ΔΕΚΜΟΣ, ΖΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ, ΜΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ. In total 31 coins were recorded in this study, a number less than a quarter of that recorded for the latest issues (Groups E-F) of Series 19.

Issues of Series 20 show clear typological and stylistic differences from issues of Series 19 which have made it possible to distinguish coins belonging to the two series. The wreathed reverse, typical of issues of Series 19, is absent from issues of Series 20 which always depict the sphinx within a dotted circle. This feature occurs on the latest issues (Group E-F) of the reduced Attic drachms and the earliest drachms of the 'reduced denarius' series. However it is absent from bronze issues of Series 19 that are contemporary with the above drachms. We seem therefore to have here strong evidence that the bronze coinage was copying typological developments with some delay from that of the silver; see p. 558.

Series 20 introduces a new style for the depiction of the sphinx, quite unlike that of the final issues of Series 19. This is evident in the form of its wing which appears as a row of simple lines, instead of the curved and elaborate type -resembling a wave- found in issues of Series 19. Another feature of the sphinx type of this series not encountered before on the

coinage is the striking by the same moneyer of issues of the same denomination showing the sphinx facing left or right (see ΑΣΠΑΣΙΟΣ, Pl. XXVI, fig. 2, an issue with the sphinx facing right and fig. 4, the sphinx facing left; ΜΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ, Pl. XXVI, fig. 14, an issue with the sphinx facing right; fig. 15, sphinx facing left). Series 20 employs different letter forms to those appearing in legends of issues of Series 19, a feature which as I discuss in detail below, is particularly helpful in proposing a general date for the striking of these issues.

Coins of ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ of Series 20 display the typological features of this series, as described above, but retain the cornucopia symbol appearing in this moneyer's issue of Series 19, suggesting that a secondary mint official who added this mint symbol to the type of Series 19 would also have done so for the issue of Series 20.⁵⁹⁶ Other symbols found on issues of Series 20 include the caps of the Dioscuri, found as a mint symbol for the first time on the bronze coinage on issues of ΜΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ and ΑΣΠΑΣΙΟΣ, and the wreath in issues of ΔΕΚΜΟΣ.⁵⁹⁷ The symbol on the issue of ΖΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ is not clear on the only specimen that I have studied. Issues of ΖΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ, ΜΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ and ΑΣΠΑΣΙΟΣ depict their names divided in two parts and appearing in two different lines showing that with Series 20 this had already become the standard form for inscribing long names in coin legends. All letters in the legends show types with apices another feature which was rarely used before on the coinage but which will become permanent for coin legends from now onwards.

Maurogordato recorded in this series (1917, pp. 218-219, Group 71) issues of ΑΣΠΑΣΙΟΣ, ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ and ΜΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ but added further issues in the names of ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ[ΙΔΗΣ].

⁵⁹⁶ Issues of ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ belonging to the two different series are relatively easy to distinguish based on the features of this series presented above. Issues of this moneyer in Series 19 are illustrated in Pl. XXIV, figs. 86-88 and Series 20 in Pl. XXVI, figs. 7-9. However the types are stylistically closer than any other issues of Series 19 with issues of Series 20. For example an identical amphora type appears on all issues of this moneyer irrespective of series. Maurogordato, 1916, p. 321 and 1917, p. 218, also distinguished -on the basis of style and letterforms- two different issues signed with this name and classified them in different groups, but also attributed both issues to a single moneyer (see his remarks on this, 1917, pp. 238-239).

⁵⁹⁷ The significance of these mint symbols is discussed in the chapter on typology, pp. 616-7.

ΠΥΘΙΩΝ, ΠΥΘΙΟΣ, ΣΩΣΙΒΙΟΣ, and ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ.⁵⁹⁸ Of these, the coin signed by ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ[ΙΔΗΣ] belongs in fact to an issue of this moneyer who struck coinage in Series 19, Group C: the issue that Maurogordato recorded under the name of ΣΩΣΙΒΙΟΣ was signed by another moneyer, ΣΩΣΙΝΙΚΟΣ. Below in this section I discuss issues of moneyers ΠΥΘΙΩΝ and ΣΩΣΙΝΙΚΟΣ, which are stylistically different to those of Series 20 but share some features in common with this series. This probably suggests that they might have been struck about the same time as Series 20. The issue recorded by Maurogordato under the name of ΠΥΘΙΟΣ is in fact a coin of the moneyer ΠΥΘΙΩΝ; the reading of the name was confused since this coin appears to have been overstruck on an earlier issue. No issue with the moneyer's name of ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ, and the type described by Maurogordato exists nowadays in the collection of the Athens Numismatic Museum, where he claims to have seen it. It seems therefore likely that he may have confused it with a coin of Series 20 in this coin cabinet bearing the moneyer's name [ΜΗ]ΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ (see the coin catalogue).

No fractions are known for the dichalkon denomination of Series 20.

2. ΠΥΘΙΩΝ and ΣΩΣΙΝΙΚΟΣ group: A small group of issues signed by the moneyers ΠΥΘΙΩΝ and ΣΩΣΙΝΙΚΟΣ (Pl. XXVI, figs. 20-26) and sharing one common obverse die, show some stylistical affinity in the obverse type with issues of Series 20.⁵⁹⁹ The first moneyer also bears the Dioscuri caps symbol, typical of most issues in this series. These features suggest that the two above issues may belong to the same period as Series 20; on this ground I have included them here, pending better evidence on their date of issue. However these issues lack any die links with issues of Series 20 and their style of the reverse is different which is why I discuss them separately from issues of this series.

⁵⁹⁸ He records the name of one of the moneyers as ΓΥΘΙΩΝ but this is corrected in his 'Supplement', 1918, p. 78, as ΠΥΘΙΩΝ.

⁵⁹⁹ See for example the sphinx type illustrated in fig. 2, an issue of ΑΣΠΑΣΙΟΣ with the type appearing on issues with the names of ΠΥΘΙΩΝ and ΣΩΣΙΝΙΚΟΣ.

3. Die studies: The number of dies used in this series was very limited suggesting that these issues would have been struck in small quantities. Issues of ΑΣΠΑΣΙΟΣ used up to three obverse and four reverse dies and the moneyer ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ (for this series) also used the same number of obverse dies and two reverse dies. Issues of ΜΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ were struck from three obverse and possibly four reverse dies; the issue of ΔΕΚΜΟΣ used up two obverse and reverse dies and that of ΖΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ a single obverse and reverse die (for a detailed list of die study, see the catalogue at the end of this chapter).

The die study has also produced links between issues of different moneyers, further evidence of the small scale of this coinage. Issues of ΑΣΠΑΣΙΟΣ, ΜΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ and ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ are die linked, since their coins share a number of common obverse dies.⁶⁰⁰ The first two issues are also linked by the use of types that are stylistically identical⁶⁰¹ and a common mint symbol, the caps of the Dioscuri in the reverse; almost certainly they were produced by the same die engraver. One of the two known coins of ΖΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ was struck with the same obverse die used in issues of ΜΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ.⁶⁰² A coin of ΑΣΠΑΣΙΟΣ bears a close similarity in style to one of the ΔΕΚΜΟΣ issues, though issues of the two moneyers are not die linked.⁶⁰³

There is a significant difference between the number of dies used in later groups of Series 19 and those of Series 20. While more than 30 obverse dies were counted for the last issues of Series 19, issues of Series 20 were struck from a total of only nine obverse dies. The small volume of coinage struck for this series may be attributed to the large number of coins of Series 19 that were still circulating at the time. However the absence of recorded hoards of this coinage makes it difficult to ascertain such a common circulation for issues of Series 19 & 20.

⁶⁰⁰ ΑΣΠΑΣΙΟΣ: Obverse Die 1 (figs. 1&5), was used as Obverse Die 2 of ΜΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ (figs. 15-16), and Obverse Die 2 of ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ (fig. 8).

⁶⁰¹ For coins of these moneyers sharing similar reverse types, see ΑΣΠΑΣΙΟΣ (figs. 4-6) and ΜΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ (figs. 14-18).

⁶⁰² The coin of ΖΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ, (fig. 13), shares the same obverse die with coins of ΜΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ, (figs. 18-19)

4. Proposed dating: I have already mentioned (p. 312), that issues of Series 20 were struck alongside drachms in the later group on the ‘reduced denarius’ standard, dating c. 60-30 BC, and this proposed period would also apply for the issue of Series 20. As we saw the issue signed by ΔΕΚΜΟΣ is linked with the drachm issue bearing the same name and issues of ΑΣΠΑΣΙΟΣ and ΜΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ bear types which are stylistically identical to those of drachm issues of ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ. The moneyer ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ struck issues belonging to Series 20 and almost certainly was the same as the namesake moneyer striking issues of Series 19 and a drachm on the ‘reduced denarius’ standard. In the section discussing Series 19, I referred to the discovery of a coin of this issue in the Athenian Agora in a context of the mid 1st century BC (see p. 296) and showing few signs of circulation. Since this moneyer appears also to have been the first to issue coinage in Series 20, it may be that his issues in this series would date during the same period, slightly earlier than the middle of the 1st century BC. This is therefore the proposed period for the introduction of issues in Series 20.

Further strong evidence adding weight to the proposed date of issue of Series 20 also lies with the type of letter form *alpha* appearing in the coin legends.⁶⁰⁴ The only type of this letter found in issues of Series 20 shows the broken middle bar; see the name legends of ΑΣΠΑΣΙΟΣ and ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ. This constitutes the first known occurrence of the letter form on Chian bronze issues since the early 2nd century BC. None of the issues of Series 19 bears this letter form and this is also true for the contemporary drachms belonging to the later groups (E and F) on the reduced Attic standard. In the silver issues this letter form makes its earliest appearance during the 1st century BC, on drachms of ΣΤΑΦΥΛΟΣ,⁶⁰⁵ and ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ; we may

⁶⁰³ ΑΣΠΑΣΙΟΣ, obverse die 2 with ΔΕΚΜΟΣ, obverse die 1, (figs. 10-11).

⁶⁰⁴ I have included a detailed discussion of the importance of this feature here as dating evidence since it appears to be strong and plentiful for issues of Series 20. This offers us the opportunity to look into the use of various letter forms of *alpha* in other contemporary issues and inscriptions at Chios.

⁶⁰⁵ This is clear from the illustration of the coin, fig. 19; Imhoof-Blumer, 1890, p. 656, no. 393, also recorded the letter *alpha* with the broken bar in the name legend of this issue.

note however that in some issues of the latter moneyer we also come across the letter form with the straight middle bar.⁶⁰⁶ The letter form also appears on drachms on the Attic standard dating to mid-late 1st century BC in the only instance where the *alpha* appears (see below for these drachms). It is always found on the later silver and bronze issues (cistophoric drachms, bronze coinage of Roman Series I) that were struck during the reign of Augustus. Issues of Series 20 seem to represent the earliest bronzes where the letter form for *alpha* with the broken middle bar becomes standard for legends on Chian coin types.

The exclusive use of this letter form in the coin legends at the time seems to coincide with its earliest dated appearances in inscriptions at Chios. In a few cases the island's inscriptions dating to the first half of the 1st century BC include the *alpha* with the broken middle bar, but during this period most examples of this letter in local inscriptions retain the straight bar.⁶⁰⁷ This seems to be similar to the appearance of both types of letter form in the legends of drachms signed by ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ (see above). However Chian inscriptions dating to the period between c 50 (or slightly earlier) and 1 BC always show the letter A with the broken middle bar.⁶⁰⁸

The evidence strongly suggests that issues of Series 20 were struck during, and shortly after the middle of the 1st century BC. As such these are the earliest Chian bronze coins that

⁶⁰⁶ Issues of this moneyer illustrated in Pl. XXV, figs. 10-12 & 15, include both type of letter forms in the name legend; the coin illustrated in fig. 13 shows only the letter form with the straight middle bar.

⁶⁰⁷ Euaggelides, 1927-8, p. 25, Forrest in IG XII, 6, 1960, no. 381, face A, section dating c 100-50 BC; both types of the letter form A (straight or broken middle bar) appear in this inscription.

⁶⁰⁸ The most important evidence on this point is found in the different parts of the inscription referred to above. Forrest, 1960, no. 381, face B of this inscription includes a section dated by Forrest to 50-1 BC. Only the letter form A with the broken middle bar appears to have been used throughout this section of the inscription, while in the section from the previous half century we also find the letter form with the straight middle bar. Other inscriptions showing exclusively this type of letter form and dating in the second half of the 1st century BC include: Studniska, 1888, p. 169, the Chian inscription honouring Julius Caesar and dating 48-44 BC (see p. 41, for a discussion of this inscription) Euaggelides, 1927-8, p. 25, no. 4, a Chian inscription honouring L. D. Ahenobarbus and dating to the late 1st century BC; *ibid*, p. 27, no. 9, another Chian inscription honouring a legate [ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΟΝ] of the name Vinicius [ΟΥΙΝΙΚΙΟΝ] most probably M. Vinicius *cos. suff.* in 19 BC. Another Chian inscription bearing exclusively this letter form was published by W. G. Forrest, 'The inscriptions of south-east Chios, I', *ABSA* 58, (1963), pp. 53-67, pp. 61-2, no. 14, but with a proposed date in the first half of the 1st century BC.

fall within the scope of RPC I and should therefore be included in any future additions to the coin catalogue of this volume.⁶⁰⁹

5. Archaeological finds: None of the published coins from this series originating from an archaeological excavation come from contexts that are dated with precision. However the finds may provide us with evidence on the general period of the issue and circulation for this series and also regions outside Chios where this coinage circulated.

Four coins of Series 20 have been found in the general vicinity of Athens; three come from the city's Agora, with a coin each signed by the moneyers, ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ, ΑΣΠΑΣΙΟΣ and ΖΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ,⁶¹⁰ and one from Peiraeus, -Athens' harbour- signed by ΜΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ (Athens Numismatic Museum, 1910-11, KE').⁶¹¹ Another coin of the last moneyer was found at Delos,⁶¹² which continued to be nominally ruled by Athens after c 84 BC.⁶¹³

These coins at Athens seem to have circulated alongside issues from the last two groups of Series 19 (E and F), a number of which, as we saw, were also recovered in the Agora excavations, but showing signs of a longer circulation than coins of Series 20. The fact that issues of Series 20, which are relatively scarce, are represented by a number of stray finds in a foreign city would suggest that they were widely used in local transactions alongside that city's own coinage. It is worth noting that finds of foreign coins in Athens during the 1st

⁶⁰⁹ See *RPC I*, 'Introduction', p. XIV, where the starting point in the chronology is set with J. Caesar's death in 44 BC.

⁶¹⁰ The coins from the Athenian Agora were fully published by Kroll, *Athens Agora XXII*, p. 270-271. The coin of ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ has inventory no. 944 d, that of ΑΣΠΑΣΙΟΣ, 944k, (illustrated by Kroll), and ΖΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ, 944i. The moneyer of the last coin was recorded by Kroll as ΖΗΝΟΔΟΡΟΣ who also suggests a link with ΖΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ who issued a drachm on the reduced Attic standard (for this drachm see pp. 252-4 of the present study). However this proposed form for the name is grammatically wrong, since the letter after the Δ in this name should be *omega*, Ω not *omicron*, Ο, as is the case with the moneyer who signed the drachm. Furthermore, a close study of the legend on this coin shows that Kroll has misread the letter *tau* for *ro* (ΖΗΝΟΔΟΡ-ΟΣ instead of the correct ΖΗΝΟΔΟΤ-ΟΣ; the coin is illustrated, Pl. XXVI, fig. 13). We may also note that a bronze coin bearing this moneyer's name is also known from a different excavation (see below in this section).

⁶¹¹ The coin is recorded as having been found at the Peiraeus and transferred to the Numismatic Museum from the local Archaeological Museum.

⁶¹² Svoronos, 1911, p. 85, no. 10, where the name of the moneyer is recorded as ΠΡΟΔ (?) but should read [ΜΗ]ΝΟΔΩ-ΡΟΣ, see Pl. XXVI, fig. 16 an illustration of this coin.

⁶¹³ Delos was returned to Athenian rule in 84 BC following a grant by Sulla, see Day, 1942, p. 128.

century BC in general are particularly rare and seem to have made up a tiny component of the coinage in circulation at the time.⁶¹⁴ The presence of these Chian coins in the Athens Agora suggests the establishment of economic contacts between Athens and Chios following the end of the Mithridatic wars (see also the discussion in the chapter on the economy, p. 673)

It may be possible to propose a more precise date for the circulation of issues Series 20 at Athens by studying the local coinage of similar module to these Chian issues, and which seem to belong to the same period. Only a single 1st century BC Athenian issue, the 'reduced AE2, Kroll type 141', (*Athens Agora XXVI*, p. 102) happens to be of a similar weight and diameter to issues of Series 20. This Athenian issue is dated in 39-37 BC and I would suggest that the Chian issues would have circulated in Athens at the time alongside this local issue. It seems almost certain that this Athenian issue represented the same denomination as the Chian issue of Series 20, and since both are also typologically similar,⁶¹⁵ the Chian coins in circulation at Athens could hardly have been distinguished from local coinage.⁶¹⁶

This proposed date for the circulation of issues of Series 20 in Athens would probably suggest that the coin of this series found at the Peiraeus may have arrived there during the 30s BC, in the period when M. Antony's fleet was docked in its harbour. The town itself was destroyed by Sulla in 86 BC and its ruins lay deserted and devoid of any economic significance down to the reign of Augustus.⁶¹⁷

⁶¹⁴ Kroll, *Athens Agora XXVI*, p. 169, has estimated that foreign bronze coinage made up approximately 2-7% of all bronze coinage circulating in Athens during this century.

⁶¹⁵ The Athenian issue bears a cantharus as its reverse type which is very similar in appearance to the amphora appearing on Chian issues of Series 19-20.

⁶¹⁶ The proposed date for issues of Series 20 suggest that some, or all, may have been in circulation for at least a decade or two prior to the date of this Athenian issue and would therefore have been in a relatively worn condition by the time the latter was in circulation. This would have made even harder for users to distinguish types belonging to these two different issues. Even today occasionally I come across worn Athenian coins of Kroll type 141 as 'Chian' issues in major coin collections. For another example of a bronze coinage circulating in a foreign region through its resemblance to a local series, see P. Tselekas, 'The Coinage of Pydna', *NC* 1996, pp. 11-32, p. 19, series A of Pydna with a recorded circulation in the kingdom of Macedonia.

⁶¹⁷ This shows that the coin is likely to have been a casual loss. Day, 1942, p. 123, states that Pompey may have started rebuilding the harbour facilities of the Peiraeus during the 60's BC, though not the city. There is no evidence of any commercial use of the harbour before the reign of Augustus. Kroll, *Athens Agora XXVI*, p. 81.

The coin of this series found at Delos originates from a site that has produced coin finds dating in two different periods, the late Republic/early Imperial period and the second half of the 2nd century AD and later.⁶¹⁸ The proposed date for the Chian issue suggests that it would belong to the first category. Among the coins found there are two coins of the Roman colony at Corinth, dating 42-41 BC showing that this site continued to be inhabited after the catastrophic piratic raid of Delos in 69 BC. This would also explain the find in the same site of a Chian coin of Series 20 which is considered in this study to have been first struck shortly after the occurrence of this event.

These are not the only coin finds from Delos dating in the middle of the 1st century BC. A high number of coins from the period c 50-30 BC -including one of the largest hoards of denarii ever unearthed in Greece- have been recovered from various sites of Delos.⁶¹⁹ These coin finds seem odd in light of the rapid decline of Delos after c 69 BC and the fact

believes that the harbour of Peiraeus may have been used as a base of M. Antony's fleet during the winter of 38-37 BC and for a while during the period 38-35 BC; M. Antony is likely to have been the first to use this harbour on a long term basis after c 86 BC. If this is true then the Chian coin is likely to have been brought there by a Chian sailing or trading with Antony's navy, rather than arriving first at Athens and finding its way from there to the Peiraeus. As I discuss in the historical background (p. 41), ships from Chios are likely to have been part of Antony's fleet. For a similar example of linking coin finds with the presence of a Roman army in a Greek site thought to have been deserted at the time, see M. Crawford, 1985, pp. 197-198, where the find of three denarii at Corinth dating to the late 2nd-early 1st centuries BC are not associated with the early years of the Roman Colony (founded in 44 BC) but with the supposed establishment of a temporary base there by Sulla during the 1st Mithridatic War.

⁶¹⁸ Svoronos, 1911, pp. 85-86, recording 28 coins found during the excavation of 1905-6 at the 'Agora of the *Competalistae*' (on the significance of this traders' guild, see Hatzfeld, 1919, p. 32); the coins belonged to two different periods, the 2nd-1st centuries BC and the reign of Antonine Pius (138-161 AD) and later. Of interest to this study is the first category of coins, which included 13 coins and identifiable are the following: Svoronos, no. 1, a coin of Athens of 84 BC (?) or the 70s BC, see Kroll, *Athens Agora XXVI*, on a precise date for this issue; Svoronos no. 2-3, two coins of the earliest issue by Roman colony at Corinth dated 42 or 41 BC, see M. Amandry, *Le Monnayage des Duovirs Corinthiens*, BCH Supp. XV(1988), for the proposed date; Svoronos nos. 4-5, two coins of Andros, dating 4th-2nd centuries BC, see Kroll, *Athens Agora XXVI*, pp. 248-249; Svoronos no. 9, a coin of Tenos, dating between the late 3rd century BC and c 188 BC, see Kroll, *Athens Agora XXVI*, p. 254, no. 851; Svoronos no. 11, a coin of Samos, dating c 129 -20 BC, see Kroll, p. 272, no. 951. Finally Svoronos no. 14, a Roman as, possibly of the late 2nd century BC.

⁶¹⁹ The coins were included in the reports of the excavation at Delos and published by J. Svoronos in JIAN 1906, 1907, 1911, 1913. In particular a hoard of 619 denarii found at Delos in 1905 and recorded in JIAN, 1906, and M. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coin Hoards*, London, 1969, p. 129, no. 465. The latest issues were denarii of M. Antony suggesting that the hoard may have been concealed at the time of battle of Actium (31 BC). Philip Bruneau, 1968, pp. 633-709, pp. 695-6, includes a general list of coins found at Delos and dating after c 69 BC, most of which belong to the mid-late 1st century BC, some of which were unknown to Svoronos.

that all foreign traders may have already abandoned the island by the middle of the 1st century BC (see the chapter on the economy, p. 671). It is likely that the coins may have been brought to Delos over a short period during the wars of the 40s and 30s BC and possibly linked with the presence of a Roman garrison protecting the island's main harbour.⁶²⁰ The denarii would have represented payments to the garrison while the petty bronze currency, including the Chian coin discussed here, would have been brought to Delos with soldiers serving in the garrison or traders supplying it.

An archaeological excavation in the region of 'Kanoni' on the island of Kerkyra yielded two coins of Series 20, the first one of ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ and the other one an issue of ΜΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ.⁶²¹ Both coins were found among the debris of a house inhabited from the late 4th century BC down to the second half of the 1st century BC when it seems to have been abandoned.⁶²² As with the find at Delos, the Chian coins belong to the same general period as a number of Roman and Greek coins recovered in the same excavation, dating from the late Republic and struck by various mints of the western and eastern part of the Empire.⁶²³

⁶²⁰ A Roman garrison was installed at Delos under Gaius Triarius after c 69 BC (see Bruneau, *ibid*). The numismatic discoveries seem to suggest that Delos may have acquired some importance during the 30's BC, for example three early coins of the Roman colony of Corinth dating c 40-30 BC were found there but chronologically the next issue of Corinth represented in finds at Delos is dated in the reign of Galba, a century later.

⁶²¹ The site is located in the allotment 'Korkyra' of northern Kerkyra and owned by Mrs Euelpidou, the known coin collector and former President of the Hellenic Numismatic Society. The coins from this excavation were published by her in two different segments for the *Archaeologikon Deltion*; the first appeared in Vol. 18, (1963), pp. 186-192, and includes in p. 191, no. 58, a bronze coin of the moneyer ΓΟΡΓΙΑ (not illustrated, but the reference is to an issue of Series 20 not 19); the second one in Vol. 20, (1965), pp. 401-6, no. 429, a bronze coin with the moneyer's name recorded as ΖΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ, the illustration of this particular coin however identifies it clearly as an issue of ΜΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ (see fig. 19).

⁶²² The excavation of the house was published by G. Dontas, 'Αρχαιοότητες και μνημεία των Ιονίων νήσων', AD, 18 (1963), pp. 180-186, with the proposed period when the house was inhabited in p. 182; also *Idem* AD 20 (1965), pp. 378-400, pp. 392-393.

⁶²³ Dontas gives as reference to the Roman coins found on this site, E. A. Sydenham, *The Coinage of the Roman Republic* (London, 1952); these finds include (Dontas) no. 60, a quinarius of P. M. Cato, Sydenham no. 597; (Dontas) no. 437, a quinarius of M. Antony struck in Gaul, Sydenham no. 1163; (Dontas) no. 62 a quinarius of Augustus. The denarii include (Dontas) no. 436, of the moneyer L Rubius Dossenus dating in 87-85 BC, Sydenham no. 708, and a denarius of M. Antony (no reference) Bronze coinage included (Dontas) no. 52, Nicaea, BMC p. 152; Corinth (Dontas) nos. 45-6, BMC no. 490 and no. 509.

In contrast to Delos this particular case at Kerkyra involves a single building, a large house, and the coins are likely to reflect the status of the house's occupants. Most coins found there are not typical of the coinage circulating at Kerkyra during this period -since they include coins from as far away as Asia Minor, see above- suggesting the use of the house by people travelling East and West of the Adriatic at the time. The coins may therefore have been brought to Kerkyra by Chian traders but also by Roman military returning home from the East

As I discuss in the chapter on the economy (pp. 641-642) a transit trade existed between Rome and Greece during the late Republic, and wine from Chios was among the commodities exported to Italy. We also have to consider that large numbers of Roman troops travelled during the 40's and 30's BC to the East or back to the west.⁶²⁴ On the whole, the few other artifacts found on this site and dating to the same general period as the above coins suggest that the coins may be linked to the presence of Roman military in the house.⁶²⁵

The excavation of the temple of Poseidon and Amphitrite on the island of Tenos, produced a coin of ΖΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ.⁶²⁶ The discovery of this coin has made it possible to identify the coin of the same issue found at Athens and which was misidentified since the legend was not clear. Oddly enough the two extant coins from this issue were both found in site excavations outside Chios.

⁶²⁴ Dyracchium, slightly to the north of Kerkyra, was the main port used by the Roman armies travelling between Italy and Greece. However the Ionian islands are likely to have seen part of these transfers of troops; for example, Kerkyra is recorded to have been used by the navies of Cleopatra and M. Antony prior to the battle at Actium in 31 BC, see W. W. Tarn, 'The Actium Campaign' in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. XI, S. A. Cook et al. (eds.), (Cambridge, 1979), pp. 100-105.

⁶²⁵ Few of the other artefacts (except coins) dating after the Classical period have been published; some pottery from the Hellenistic period were noted by the excavator. A published artifact dating to the late Republic is a section of a bronze helmet, of a type manufactured in Italy and which is rarely found in the East (Dontas, 1963, p. 186). The name IVIBI is engraved on it showing that the owner was presumably a Roman soldier but it is difficult to ascribe a more precise date to this type of helmet. Its appearance however at the house alongside coinage in which Roman soldiers were paid during the 1st century BC (quinarii-denarii), strongly suggests that the house may have been used at one point by Roman military.

⁶²⁶ R. Etienne et al, *Tenos I, Le Sanctuaire de Poseidon et d' Amphitrite*, (Athens, 1986), Appendix III, 'Les Monnaies' compiled by Tony Hackens, pp. 259-66, p. 263, no. 81. The name of the moneyer is recorded as ΖΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ.

SERIES 20 [M. 71]

Obv.: sphinx seated l. or r.

Rev.: amphora in centre. name of moneyer and ethnic legend; symbol in a break in the ethnic legend.

Dichalkon, 12-13 mm av. weight 1.9g (28 coins)

Moneyer: ΑΣΠΑΣΙΟΣ. Two obverse types for this issue: a) sphinx seated l. and b) sphinx seated r. The reverse mint symbol is the same for both types of issue, the caps of Dioscuri. The letter alpha has the middle bar broken. 3 obverse and 3 rev. dies

London

B. M.:

no. 89; 2.13g, 12; ΑΣΠΑΣΙΟΣ; type a. **fig. 1.** Obv. Die 1, Rev. Die 1

no. 915; 1.79g, 12; ΑΣΠΑΣ[ΙΟΣ]; type a. Obv. Die 1, Rev. Die 1

Athens

A. A.:

Athens Agora find. no. 944k; 1.56g, 12; ΑΣΠΑΣΙ-ΟΣ; type b. **fig. 2.** Obv. Die 2, Rev. Die 2

Paris

B. N.:

no. 3060; 2.15g, 12; ΑΣΠΑΣ[ΙΟΣ]; type a. **fig. 3.** Obv. Die 3, Rev. Die 1

Vienna

K. M.:

no. 17930; 1.61g, 12; ΑΣΠΑΣΙ-ΟΣ; type a. **fig. 4.** Obv. Die 1, Rev. Die 3

Berlin

M. K.:

V. R.; 1.51g, 12; ΑΣΠΑΣΙΟΣ; type a.

L. 1906; 1.57g, 12; ΑΣΠΑΣΙΟΣ; type a. **fig. 5.** Obv. Die 1, Rev. Die 4

Dressel 1921; 1.35g, 12; ΑΣΠΑΣΙ-ΟΣ; type a. **fig. 6.** Obv. Die 3, Rev. Die 3

I. B. 1900; 2.31g, 12; ΑΣΠΑΣΙΟΣ; type b. Obv. Die 2

Collosseum Coin Exchange, Hazlet, N. J. Aug. 1991

no. 184; Obv. Die 1, Rev. Die 4

Moneyer: ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ. The amphora type in this issue is stylistically different to the other issues in this series and closer to that of the last issues of Series 19. The reverse mint symbol is a cornucopia. The letter alpha has the middle bar broken (see in particular fig. 7) 3 obverse and 2 reverse dies.

London

B. M.:

no. 906; 1.54g, 12; [Γ]ΟΡΓΙΑΣ. **fig. 7.** Obv. Die 1, Rev. Die 1

Cambridge

F. M.:

General coll.; 21.93, 11; ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ

Athens

N. M.:

Kanell. coll. 1914, KG' no. 14; 2.89g, 12; [Γ]ΟΡΓΙΑΣ. **fig. 8.** Obv. Die 2 (Obv. Die 1 of ΑΣΠΑΣΙΟΣ), Rev. Die 1

A. A.:

Athens Agora find. no. 944d; 1.40g, 12; ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ. **fig. 9** Obv. Die 3?, Rev. Die 2?

Paris

B. N.:

G. c; weight not recorded; 12; [Γ]ΟΡΓΙΑΣ Obv. Die 3, Rev. Die 2?

Berlin

M. K.:

I. B. 1900; 1.81g, 12; ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ

Moneyer: ΔΕΚΜΟΣ This issue copies the types and style of the drachm on the reduced denarius standard with this name. Wreath mint symbol in the reverse type. 2 obverse and 2 reverse die

Athens

N. M.:

Kan. coll. no. 18; 1.97g, 3; ΔΕΚΜΟΣ; sphinx l. **fig. 10** Obv. Die 1, Rev. Die 1

Paris

B. N.:

Wad. coll. no. 3047; 0.56g, 12; ΔΕΚΜΟΣ; sphinx l. **fig. 11** Obv. Die 1, Rev. Die 21

Berlin

M. K.:

v. R.; 2.34g, 3; ΔΕΚΜΟΣ; sphinx r. **fig. 12** Obv. Die 2, Rev. Die 2

Moneyer: ΖΗΝΟΔΟ-ΤΟΣ; reverse mint symbol, caps of Dioscuri ? This coin was not included by Maurogordato.

Tenos find p. 263, no. 81; 1.53g, 12; [ΖΗ]ΝΟΔΟΤ-ΟΣ; illustration not available

Athens

A. A:

Athens Agora find, no. 944 l.; 2.59g, 12; [Ζ]ΗΝΟΔΟΤ-ΟΣ⁶²⁷. **fig. 13**

Moneyer: ΜΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ. Two obverse types are known: a) sphinx seated r. and b) sphinx seated l. The reverse mint symbol is the same in both types, the caps of Dioscuri. The moneyer's name is inscribed in two lines, ΜΗΝΟΔΩ-ΡΟΣ; the latter part appears under the amphora. 3 obverse and 4 reverse dies.

London

B. M.:

no. 910; 1.95g, 12; ΜΗΝΟΔΩ-Ρ[ΟΣ]; type b. **fig. 14**. Obv. Die 1, Rev. Die 1

Oxford

A. M.:

Milne 1924; 1.98g, 12; [Μ]ΗΝΟΔ[ΩΡΟΣ]

Athens

N. M.:

1910-11, KE', Peiraeus find; originally in the Archaeological Museum at Peiraeus; 2.04g, 11; ΜΗΝΟΔΩ-[ΡΟΣ]; type a. **fig. 15**. Obv. Die 2 (Obv. Die 1 of ΑΣΠΑΣΙΟΣ), Rev. Die 2

no. 5527, Delos find, published in JINA, 1911, p. 85, Maurogordato, ill. 1917, Pl. IX. 4; 2.10g, 12; [ΜΗ]ΝΟΔΩ-ΡΟΣ; type b. **fig. 16**. Obv. Die 2 (Obv. Die 1 of ΑΣΠΑΣΙΟΣ), Rev. Die 3

1896-7, Tsibourakis, IB' no. 818; 1.81g, 2; ΜΗΝΟΔΩ-ΡΟΣ; type b. **fig. 17**. Obv. Die 1? Rev. Die 1?

Munich

M. K.:

no. 28439; 1.85g, 12

T. U.:

no. 3263; 2.74g, 10; ΜΗΝ[ΟΔΩ]-ΡΟ[Σ]; type b. Obv. Die 1, Rev. Die 1?

Berlin

M. K.:

Pergamum find, inv. no. 979 / 1912; 2.04g, 12; [Μ]ΗΝΟΔ[ΩΡΟΣ]; type b. **fig. 18**. Obv. Die 3 (Obv. die of ΖΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ), Rev. Die 4

L. 1906; 2.42g, 12; ΜΗΝΟΔ[ΩΡΟΣ]

I. B. 1900; 2.25g, 12; ΜΗΝΟΔΩ[ΡΟΣ]

Kerkyra

Found during an excavation in the region of 'Kanoni'; published in A. D. Vol. 20. (1965), pp. 401-6, no. 429; ΜΗΝΟΔΩ-ΡΟΣ; type b. **fig. 19** Obv. Die 3 (Obv. Die of ΖΗΝΟΔΟΤΟΣ), Rev. Die 3?

ΠΥΘΙΩΝ and ΣΩΣΙΝΙΚΟΣ group

Obv.: sphinx seated l., bunch of grapes in front

Rev.: amphora in centre, ethnic l. moneyer's name r.; mint symbol in the reverse in a break in the ethnic.

Moneyer: ΠΥΘΙΩΝ. Reverse mint symbol, Dioscuroi caps [M. 71]

⁶²⁷ Kroll, *Athens Agora XXVI*, wrongly recorded the name appearing on this coin as ΖΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΣ.

One obverse and three reverse dies.

London

B. M.:

no. 918; 2.65g, 12; ΠΥΘΙΩΝ]. **fig. 20** Obv. Die 1 Rev. Die 1

Oxford

A. M.:

Milne 1924 ex Nikolaides; 2.40g, 10; [Π]ΥΘΙΩΝ. **fig. 21** Obv. Die 1 Rev. Die 2

Athens

N. M.:

1901-2. Koronaïou, {found at Chios}, H' no. 6; 2.68g, 11; ΠΥΘΙΩΝ

Paris

B. N.:

G. c.: weight not recorded, 11; ΠΥΘΙΩΝ. **fig. 22** Obv. Die 1 Rev. Die 3

Moneyer: ΣΩΣΙΝΙΚΟΣ Reverse mint symbol owl [M. 75]

Two obverse and three reverse dies.

London

B. M.:

no. 905; 2.76g, 12; ΣΩΣΙΝΙΚΟΣ. Obv. Die 1 Rev. Die 1. **fig. 23**

Oxford

A. M.:

Milne 1924, ex Nikolaides; 2.70g, 12; [Σ]ΩΣΙΝΙΚΟΣ. Obv. Die 2 Rev. Die 2 (same obverse die as ΠΥΘΙΩΝ). **fig. 24**

Athens

N. M.:

1911-12, Zolota, N'; 1.83g, 11; [Σ]ΩΣΙΝΙΚΟΣ
no. 5531a; 2.31g, 10; [Σ]ΩΣΙ[ΝΙ]ΚΟ[Σ]⁶²⁸. Obv. Die 1 Rev. Die 2. **fig. 25**

Paris

B. N.:

no. 3146; 2.69g, 11; [Σ]ΩΣΙΝΙΚΟΣ

Berlin

M. K.:

I. B. 1900; 2.02g, 11; ΣΩΣΙΝΙΚ[ΟΣ]. Obv. Die 1 Rev. Die 3. **fig. 26**

⁶²⁸ Not ΣΩΣΙΒΙΟ[Σ] as reconstructed by Maurogordato, 1917, p. 219.

II. 12. DRACHM SERIES ON THE ATTIC STANDARD (Pl. XXVIII)

1. General aspects and discussion of the standard:

Following the end of the 1st Mithridatic War (85 BC) only a few Greek cities continued striking civic silver and, as we saw, Chios was one of these, producing issues on the 'reduced denarius' standard between c 80 BC and the reign of Augustus. This period also saw the issue by the Chian mint of a tiny number of drachms weighing between 3.77 g and 4.14g. The average weight of the issues is more than three quarters of a gram heavier than that of the more common drachms, struck on the 'reduced denarius' standard, but both seem to date to the same general period (see below on the proposed date of these Attic drachms).

The weight of the Chian drachms in the series under discussion is also unusually heavy, compared not only to other contemporary drachms of this mint but also other local civic drachms struck at the time in the East. The drachms are therefore likely to have been copying the standard of the late Republican denarius (at 3.8g). However one of these Chian drachms weighs 4.14g, and is far too heavy even for a coin on the denarius standard, and is almost on the full Attic standard.

The series is represented by four recorded coins, belonging to three different issues, and bear the names of ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ, ΛΕΩΝΙΔΗΣ and ΙΠΠΑΡΧΟΣ. The dies used for the ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ issue were the same as issues of this moneyer on the 'reduced denarius' standard.⁶²⁹ A single obverse die was used for the ΛΕΩΝΙΔΗΣ and ΙΠΠΑΡΧΟΣ issues, and their reverse types are also stylistically identical. Both drachms seem to have been struck together, since the die engraver was probably the same, thus forming their own separate group within the series.

⁶²⁹ This coin shares the same obverse and reverse dies as a coin of this moneyer but on the 'reduced denarius' standard in the Berlin Coin Cabinet, see Pl. XXV, fig. 14; the same obverse die was also used for the coin in the Waddington collection, B.N., see Pl. XXV, fig. 12.

Despite the small number of coins I believe that the discussion of this group of issues separately from the other contemporary Chian drachms is justified on the account of their standard, which places them apart from the other drachms of the period and probably indicating that this was no ordinary issue.⁶³⁰

2. Proposed dating: As we have already seen, the moneyer ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ struck coins in both standards, the Attic and the ‘reduced denarius’, and even used an obverse and reverse die in common for issues in these different series. Almost certainly the moneyer would have been the same individual and die studies have established a definite link between issues of these standards which would otherwise have been impossible to consider, in light of the great weight difference. I have classified the ‘reduced denarius’ drachm of ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ in the later group of this series and proposed a date in the mid/late 1st century BC (see pp. 359-61). This date would also apply for this moneyer’s issue struck on the Attic standard.

Types appearing on the issues of ΛΕΩΝΙΔΗΣ and ΙΠΠΑΡΧΟΣ are stylistically different to that of ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ but are identical to types of bronze issues belonging to Series 23, (for the latter see pp. 356-63). The similarities are clearly visible in both the obverse and the reverse types of these issues and it would seem that they are contemporary, with probably the same artist producing dies for the different issues.⁶³¹ The proposed period of issue for Series 23 is the middle/late 1st century BC (see pp. 359-361) and I would suggest that the group of drachms signed by ΛΕΩΝΙΔΗΣ and ΙΠΠΑΡΧΟΣ date from the same period. This also happens to be the general period already proposed, on different evidence, for the drachm of ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ.⁶³²

⁶³⁰ Another Chian drachm bearing in the obverse the legend ‘ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΣ’ was also struck on a heavier standard than that used at Chios and in Asia Minor during the late Republic and early Empire. However this issue dates to the reign of Augustus and is discussed in a later chapter, pp. 383-4.

⁶³¹ Compare illustrations in Pl. XXVIII, ‘drachms on the Attic standard’, figs 1-3, with ‘Series 23’, figs 1-7. The similarities are not restricted in the depiction of the sphinx and amphora, but also include the dotted obverse and the same distinctive wreath enclosing the reverse type. The caduceus is also shared as a common mint symbol on issues of these different series suggesting the presence of the same mint official.

⁶³² The proposed period of issue for drachms in this series (the final years of the Roman Republic) would include them in the relevant discussion of RPC, I.

The letter *alpha* in the name ΠΠΑΡΧΟΣ bears a broken middle bar and this letter form, as already discussed above in pp. 328-9, appears on coin legends and inscriptions at Chios from the early 1st century BC and onwards, not earlier. Other evidence possibly pertaining to the date of issues includes the unusual type of the sphinx depicted carrying a thyrsus over its shoulder. This is probably copied from coins of Teos dating to the mid-late 1st century BC showing a griffin carrying a thyrsus in a similar fashion as this sphinx.⁶³³

3. Epigraphic evidence: As we saw in the previous chapter, Chian eponymous magistrates recorded in inscriptions of the 1st century BC bore the names of ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ and ΛΕΩΝΙΔΗΣ. In a different inscription dating to this century, there is a reference to an eponymous magistrate named ΛΕΩΝΙ[ΔΗΣ].⁶³⁴ Sarikakis has suggested (*Chian Prosopography*, p. 290, no. 55) that this may be the same as the namesake individual and holder of the same magistracy recorded in the other inscription. This is plausible on account of the scarcity of the name, the contemporarity of the inscriptions, and the identical high office held by the two namesakes. The fact that the name ΛΕΩΝΙΔΗΣ also appears in a drachm of the series in question, dating to the same general period to the inscriptions, probably suggests that this magistrate may also have acted as moneyer, and lends support to Robert's theory that during this period the eponymous magistrate at Chios signed issues (see the discussion in the chapter on the series of the 'reduced denarius', pp. 318-9). The last recorded appearance of this name in a Chian inscription is in the patronymic of an individual that seems to have been eponymous magistrate probably around the middle of the 1st century AD.⁶³⁵ His father may have been living during the second half of the 1st century BC, the same period as the namesake individual(s) mentioned above.

⁶³³ See for example, SNG *Von Aulock*, Ionia, Teos, nos. 2266-7.

⁶³⁴ T. Sarikakis, 'Inscriptions inédites de Chios', BCH 113, 1989, pp. 347-350, p. 350, no. 5.

⁶³⁵ IG XII, 6, line 7-8, Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 37, no. 293, ANTIOXΟΣ son of ΛΕΩΝΙΔΗΣ: dated c 40-60 AD.

The moneyer ΙΠΠΑΡΧΟΣ bears a name suggesting that he may have been a member of the branch of the Neleid family that settled at Chios and which Forrest links to the family of the Athenian tyrant Peisistratos (1981, p. 134). The name only appears once in a Chian inscription of any period and this is generally dated to the 1st century BC (Forrest, 1966, 199, no. 315; Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 245, no. 47). The rarity of the name shows that it is possible that the moneyer may be identified with this individual attested epigraphically.

4. Rhodian drachms of the 1st century BC on the Attic/denarius standard:

As we saw, the standard of this coinage is heavier than that of other civic mints striking at the time. However recent research suggests that Chios may not have been the only city mint using such a standard in the Greek East. Rhodes is known to have produced a drachm coinage of Attic weight sometime after the end of its ‘plinthophoric’ drachm coinage that was struck on the lighter cistophoric weight.⁶³⁶ The traditional date of c 88-43 BC for these issues has recently been challenged by Ashton and Weiss, who consider that most of these drachms may date later, during the 40’s BC, or even the early reign of Augustus.⁶³⁷ Furthermore in light of recent discoveries of this coinage it is unlikely that the drachms were issued to circulate alongside denarii, as previously thought, but probably on their own.⁶³⁸

The standard and this newly proposed date for the Rhodian drachms seem to match those of the Chian drachms under discussion. Since this Rhodian coinage is relatively common and appears to have been struck over a long period, it is unlikely to represent a joint

⁶³⁶ R. H. J. Ashton, ‘Rhodian coinage in the Early Imperial Period, CH 3: no. 82’ in *Recent Turkish Coin Hoards and Numismatic Studies* edited by C. S. Lightfoot, British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, Monograph 12, Oxbow Monograph 7 (1991), pp. 71-90, f. 6. R. H. J. Ashton & A. -P. C. Weiss, ‘The Post-Plinthophoric Silver Drachms of Rhodes’, NC 157 (1997), pp. 27-40, Pl. 1-16. The drachms are known as the ‘full-blown rose’ from the depiction of the rose type on the reverse, and the majority of known coins weigh c 3.50-4.20g.

⁶³⁷ For the proposed earlier date see K. Jenkins, ‘Rhodian Plinthophoroi-a sketch’ in Le Rider et al. *Essays in Honour of C. M. Kraay and O. Morkholm*, (Louvain, 1985), pp. 101-119. The proposed later date is considered by Ashton and Weiss, 1997, in pp. 33-37.

⁶³⁸ See, Ashton, 1991, p. 77 and f. 10, and his discussion of these drachms in *RPC I* ‘Rhodes’ where he suggested that the drachms may have circulated as denarii. Mr Ashton has informed me that coins which became recently known show the peak of the weight is higher than that of the denarius and closer to the Attic.

issue with Chios. Nevertheless similar conditions may have driven both cities to strike issues on a heavier standard than in their recent past.⁶³⁹

5. Possible theory on the issue: In the discussion above, we saw that Rhodes struck its Attic weight drachms on a much larger scale and over a longer period than Chios. This city's coinage may have been struck to be used in the place of denarii and would have circulated in areas where the denarius was not yet in common use during the 1st century BC. In contrast to Rhodes, the drachms at Chios were very few and appear to have been struck over a brief period. It seems unlikely that these may represent an attempt by the Chian mint to introduce a drachm weighing the same as the denarius, in other words initiating a policy of issuing coinage for circulating abroad alongside denarii.

To try to find an explanation of why Chios struck these heavy weight drachms, at a time when it was issuing a regular drachm coinage on a lighter weight (the 'reduced denarius' weight standard), we have to turn to the period when they were probably issued. Since they appear to date in the mid/late 1st century BC, the drachms are likely to have been produced within the context of the Roman civil wars of the 40s and 30s BC. This would mean that the exceptional circumstances of that period may have occasioned the issue of this particular silver coinage, e.g. to pay a levy to any one of a number of Roman war lords plundering the Eastern provinces at the time. Naturally such money would have been collected in denarii, but in places where the denarius was not yet in circulation at the time, as was the case of Chios, locally produced silver issues on the denarius standard, could also have been demanded and collected, though not coins on the local (lighter) standards.⁶⁴⁰ The coins would in due course

⁶³⁹ In light of the proposed redating of the Attic weight drachms of Chios in the present study, Ashton and Weiss, 1997, p. 36, also consider a possible connection of these Chian issues with the Attic weight drachms of Rhodes. Other mints in the East striking issues on the Attic standard during the late 1st century BC -though none of these were civic issues- include Side and the Cappadocean kingdom (Ashton and Weiss, 1997, pp. 36-7).

⁶⁴⁰ Crawford, 1985, p. 245, refers in general to drachms of Chios that might be connected to Pompey and his war against Caesar, but gives no references. On this proposed link between drachms of Chios and the civil war between Caesar and Pompey see also P. Kinns, 1987, pp. 105-119, pp. 119, f. 66. Below I discuss the example of

have been restruck as denarii.⁶⁴¹ One of the Chian coins weighs 4.15g and is certainly closer to the Attic than the denarius standard, something which might contradict the above theory. However we need to remember that coins heavier than the denarius would also have been requisitioned by the Romans since their soldiers in the East occasionally received payment in Attic drachms.⁶⁴²

In this light it is unfortunate that we have only very limited information on the stance taken by Chios during the Roman civil wars and any consequences these events might have had on the island, possibly leading to the issue of these drachms. As I discuss in the historical background (pp. 40-41), we only know of the island's active support for Pompey in 49-48 BC; Chios is absent from literary sources dealing with the Civil wars of 44-42 BC and 32-30 BC. However it is known that the 'liberators' plundered and levied cities in Asia Minor to pay for their troops in 43-42 BC and this is also the case for Antony on the eve of the battle at Actium (31 BC).⁶⁴³ It is likely that these Chian issues may be linked to such exactions demanded on Chios by one of these Roman war lords.⁶⁴⁴

the Lycian League known to have struck during the 40s BC civic silver issues with local types but on the Roman denarius standard, presumably to be used by Roman armies in the region.

⁶⁴¹ Kroll, *Athens Agora XXVI*, p. 15, describes such a situation at Athens during the 40s BC 'where much of (the locally struck) silver was doubtless requisitioned and recoinced to pay Roman armies in the civil war'.

⁶⁴² Appian, *The Mithridatic Wars*, XII, XVII, 116, records that in 62 BC during his Eastern campaign Pompey paid each of his soldiers 1500 *Attic* drachms. Idem, *The Civil Wars*, II, XV, 102, a payment of 5000 *Attic* drachms made by Caesar in 46 BC to every soldier serving in his army. Payment in Attic drachms, rather than denarii, would have represented an extra bonus for the troops in view of the weight difference between the denarius and the Attic drachm. It seems to me unlikely that Attic drachms and denarii were tariffed the same during the late Republic; see however, Kroll, *Athens Agora XXVI*, p. 15 citing ancient literary evidence that seem to suggest the opposite and L. Robert, 'Monnaies dans les Inscriptions Greques', RN, ser. 6, 4, 1962, pp. 7-24, pp. 12-13.

⁶⁴³ Crawford, 1985, p. 251, on Brutus and Cassius exacting levies from Rhodes, Lycia, and other cities and regions. In p. 246 he suggests that local issues on the denarius standard struck by cities in Lycia may have financed Pompey's or Caesar's preparations during their civil war. For M. Antonius receiving levies at Ephesus, see, Crawford, p. 252

⁶⁴⁴ The coin signed by ΠΠΑΡΧΟΣ is countermarked with a symbol that looks like a jar (see fig. 4). This does not seem to be a Chian symbol suggesting that the coin may have circulated outside the island. An identification of the authority responsible for this countermark would contribute much to this discussion.

DRACHM ISSUES OF THE LATE REPUBLIC OR EARLY EMPIRE ON THE ATTIC-DENARIUS STANDARD

c 50-20 BC

Obv.: sphinx seated r, lifting front paw and holding thyrsus across its shoulder
Rev.: amphora in centre, name of moneyer r. and ethnic l.; mint symbol in legend break of the ethnic legend.

Moneyer: ΙΠΠΑΡΧΟΣ; mint symbol thyrsus. Issue unknown to Maurogordato

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:

no. 1624; 3.77g, 9; ΙΠΠΑΡΧΟΣ; coin is countermarked in the amphora's centre with a jar {?} cmk ⁶⁴⁵. **fig. 1**

Moneyer: ΑΕΩΝΙΔΗΣ, mint symbol, lyre. [M. 69]

Paris

B. N.:

W. c., no. 3042; 18.00 mm, 4.14g, 12; ΑΕΩΝΙΔΗΣ. **fig. 2**

Lepgyk-Downie cata. no. 63, 16-10-1985

no. 144; weight and die axis not recorded; [ΑΕ]ΩΝΙΔΗΣ; Coin is worn. **fig. 3**

Types of the following drachm are identical with this moneyer's issues on the 'reduced denarius' standard.

Moneyer: ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ

Ex Pozzi coll. in auct. cata. Naville Geneva, 4-4-1921

no. 2544; 3.94g, die axis not recorded; ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ. **fig. 4**

⁶⁴⁵ The countermark is not well struck but depicts an object like a jar or lituus but this is not a cantharus. The countermark is not of Chian origin.

During the early 1st century BC many Greek cities struck bronze coinage on a larger module and of a heavier weight than at anytime in their past. Chios also followed this development and struck large bronze issues of three successive series nos. 21, 22, 23.

II. 13. BRONZE SERIES 21 (Pl. XXVIII)

1. General aspects: This is a rare series with only six coins known, and issues belong to a single type weighing on average c.10 g (5 coins weighed) and measuring 20-1 mm in diameter. These features show that the issues represented the largest bronze denomination struck at Chios until then, on a module almost double that of the trichalkon, last issued during the late 3rd century BC. However the most striking feature of this series is not so much its module but the absence of the sphinx type from its obverse. This is a unique example of a Chian civic issue lacking this type, and it is only from the ethnic legend that these coins have been identified as issues of the Chian mint. The reverse type also seems to part with tradition since it depicts a thyrsus bound with fillets instead of the long established amphora type.⁶⁴⁶ Further, the reverse is enclosed with a wreath of laurels, not of vines, another feature not encountered before on a Chian type.

Names of moneyers are absent from this type and the ethnic legend is depicted on issues in two different forms, the singular nominative, ΧΙΟΣ (see Pl. XXVIII, fig. 5) or the plural genitive, ΧΙΩΝ (see Pl. XXVIII, fig. 5). Two coins are known from the first variety and four from the second one.

All six coins were struck from a single obverse die and each coin with its own reverse die.

⁶⁴⁶ This however is not a unique feature for the Chian coinage -as is the absence of the sphinx from the coin type- since the thyrsus had already appeared in some rare chalkoi of Series 18 and was commonly used as a mint symbol; see the discussion in the chapter on typology, pp. 613-4. As we will see later on in this study, during the Roman Imperial period the mint commonly struck issues bearing reverse types other than the amphora.

2. Proposed dating: The issue of a heavy bronze denomination by Chios may be linked with numismatic developments occurring elsewhere in the Greek East, and especially in western Asia Minor after c. 100 BC. Many civic mints in Ionia, for example Smyrna, Ephesus, Clazomenae and other smaller ones, began producing heavier bronze coins than at any time in their past, on a standard similar to that of issues of Series 21.⁶⁴⁷ Kinns has plausibly suggested (1987, p. 110) that this increase of the weight of the bronze standard was a way of creating coinage of greater intrinsic value in order to substitute for small silver issues that were circulating at the time.⁶⁴⁸ The main reason for this monetary development seems to have been the imposition by Sulla of a huge indemnity on the cities of Asia Minor following the end of the 1st Mithridatic War. This had to be paid in silver, thus depleting the bullion stocks of the cities in the region and driving out of circulation their silver currencies (Kinns, 1987, p. 110). As I discuss in the chapter on the economy (p. 659), Chios was exempt from paying this indemnity, but it is likely that developments in Asia Minor would also have affected Chian monetary policies. Obviously by striking a heavy bronze coinage the local mint would have conserved silver partly stopping it from drifting to Asia Minor.

The obverse type also seems to confirm a date of after the outbreak of the 1st Mithridatic war for the issue of Series 21 since it has been clearly copied from the reverse of a denarius of either the moneyer L. Piso, striking coinage in c 90 BC,⁶⁴⁹ or that of his son C.

⁶⁴⁷ For large denominational issues similar to Chios and dated after c 100 BC, see SNG Copenhagen, Clazomenae, nos. 101-3, and 106-7; Colophon, nos. 177-9; Ephesus, nos. 338-341; Magnesia ad Maeandrum, nos. 849-851; and Priene, nos. 1096-9. Note that this type of large denomination was rarely struck earlier than the 1st century BC; for example, Athens briefly struck in c 229 BC a coin of a module of 20-22 mm and averaging in weight 8-10g, but this was discontinued shortly afterwards and only reissued again after c. 86 BC, see Kroll, *Athens Agora XXV*, pp. 80-81.

⁶⁴⁸ For changes in the weight of the bronze coinage during this period, see also, Kinns, 1980, 'Erythrae', pp. 160-1, 'Teos', pp. 233-8, and 'Colophon', pp. 335-7; for Smyrna see G. Milne, 'The autonomous coinage of Smyrna, Part III', NC Fifth Series, Vol. VIII, (1928), pp. 131-171, pp. 158-9.

⁶⁴⁹ M. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage*, London, 1974, Vol. I, p. 340, no. 340.

Piso frugi, moneyer in c 67 BC, who used the same types as his father's issue.⁶⁵⁰ The date of the first denarius shows that the Chian issue was almost certainly struck after c 90 BC.⁶⁵¹

Issues of L. Piso are much more common than those of C. Piso,⁶⁵² and the Chian type is more likely to have been copied from this issue since large quantities of this denarius would have entered the Eastern Mediterranean with Roman troops deployed in the region during the Mithridatic wars.⁶⁵³ Chios was one of the areas involved in the fighting, and literary sources specifically record the presence of Roman soldiers on the island in the closing stages of the 1st Mithridatic war (see the discussion in the historical background, p. 39). It is therefore not surprising that the only Roman Republican coins to have been recorded with a secure Chian provenance date to this period; one of these happens to be a denarius of L. Piso, the issue that was copied on Chian Series 21.⁶⁵⁴

The fact that the obverse of Series 21 was modeled on that of a denarius type provides us with evidence on the period of its issue. During the late Republican and early Imperial period mints in the East frequently used types on the Roman official coinage as models for their own coin issues. In these cases the Eastern issues belonged to the same period as the Roman issues they copied (*RPC I*, p. 46).⁶⁵⁵ I would therefore suggest that issues of Series 21 may have copied the denarius type at the time when this particular coinage was actually

⁶⁵⁰ Crawford, 1974, Vol. I, p. 419, no. 408.

⁶⁵¹ The Chian issue is unlikely to have been used as the model for the type appearing on the denarius of L. Piso.

⁶⁵² Crawford, 1974, Vol. II, p. 651, records 864 obverse dies for the issue of L. Piso and only 134 obverse dies for that of C. Piso frugi

⁶⁵³ The issue of L. Piso was by far the most common struck during the early 1st century BC (see also the previous footnote) and Roman soldiers would have brought with them to the East mostly denarii of this issue. For hoards in Greece concealed during the Mithridatic wars and containing denarii, see. M. Crawford, 1985, p. 320, Appendix 47. The influx of denarii during this period was so great that it marked the beginning of the dominance of the denarius in the area, see Burnett, 1987, p. 37.

⁶⁵⁴ The denarius in the Gridia hoard was of this type, see Papageorgiadou, 'Gridia Hoard', p. 188; the coin is illustrated in Pl. XXVIII of this study where its reverse type may be compared with the obverse of issues of Series 21. On the discovery of Roman coins at Chios connected with this war see the discussion in the chapter on the economy, pp. 666-7

⁶⁵⁵ See also *RPC I*, p. 29, where it is plausibly suggested that the towns of Balbura and Attalea in Asia Minor used denarii by the fact that their bronze coinage copied designs from denarii contemporary with their own issues.

circulating at Chios, and not afterwards. If we can establish the period when the island's silver coinage consisted of denarii then we would have some strong evidence on the likely period when issues of Series 21 were struck.

Roman silver coinage seems to have circulated at Chios immediately after c 84 BC and formed part of a local hoard with a closing date in the 70s BC. However, this circulation of foreign silver at Chios was probably a temporary measure lasting only for a short period after c 84 BC and may be attributed to a break in the local production of silver coinage caused from the extensive damage to the city's infrastructure and economy during the Pontic occupation of 86-85 BC. As we saw in pp. 311-17, the Chians resumed issuing their own silver coinage - most probably during the 70's BC- and are unlikely to have continued using Roman silver coinage any longer, since their drachms were on a different standard to that of the denarius. This would have precluded the possibility that both Roman and Chian coinages might have been circulating together at Chios at any time.⁶⁵⁶

This indicates a likely date of issue for Series 21 after c 84 BC and no later than c 70 BC.⁶⁵⁷ Maurogordato might after all have been right in stating that Chios probably struck its large bronze denominations after 84 BC, before resuming the striking of silver (1917, p. 213).⁶⁵⁸

⁶⁵⁶ Chios would not have to rely on issues of the denarius for its silver coinage, as cities of the Greek mainland from the early-mid 1st century BC, since it issued its own. In this sense the situation at Chios would have been similar to Asia Minor where the denarius did not enter into extensive circulation before the 40s-30s BC. Even after this period Chios continued for some time issuing its own silver coinage (see below the chapter discussing drachms on the cistophoric standard) and the denarius was not adopted by Chios until much later and probably in the reign of Tiberius.

⁶⁵⁷ A coin find of Series 21 at Delos (Svoronos, 1911, p. 123, no. 44) showing almost no sign of circulation might agree with this proposed date for the issue. The context of this find is not recorded but the coin is more likely to have arrived at Delos before the city was destroyed in 69 BC, rather than afterwards. However we cannot be certain about this, since Delos -as I already stressed in discussion of Series 20- continued to be inhabited after 69 BC (though in a much more restricted area than before) and excavations on this site have yielded coins of the 1st century BC but dating after c 69 BC.

⁶⁵⁸ Maurogordato seems to imply that this coinage was struck as a temporary measure to replace silver coinage which was no longer available; he did not consider the possible use of silver Roman coinage at Chios at the time since no such evidence was available to him

The reverse type of Series 21 depicts a thyrsus bound with fillets identical with a countermark type used on issues of Teos and dating in c 75-50 BC.⁶⁵⁹ It is clear from the large size of this countermark and its widespread application on the coinage, that the thyrsus bound with fillets was adopted at Teos as a new coin type. Its application may be close in date with the period when Chios was striking issues of Series 21 bearing the same reverse type. These Chian and Tean issues also share the same module and would probably have been of the same denomination.⁶⁶⁰ In light of typological similarities between other 1st century BC issues struck by these two Ionian cities, that we have already seen in the previous chapter, it is likely that the use of a common reverse type by both mints may have been adopted at the same time, possibly as the result of the occasion.

With issues of Series 21 we also seem to have the first example of a bronze coinage at Chios struck on the whole with 'loose' dies and the die axis at six or nine o'clock; not a single coin is known with dies fixed at twelve. This development, as we saw, also occurred for some of the drachm issues signed by ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ who struck in the later group of the 'reduced denarius' standard.

Issues of Series 21 may have overlapped with the last group of Series 19, if the proposed period of issue in the 70's is valid, and with Series 20, if the issues were produced slightly later than proposed here. However the absence of a moneyer's name makes it impossible to associate them with any of these issues and the use of different types does not allow any stylistical comparisons with other Chian issues

3. Denomination: The identification of the denomination of these issues seems to bear significance on the denominations of other contemporary Greek mints in general. Because of

⁶⁵⁹ Kinns, 1980, 'Teos', AE 20, with a date of issue c 75-50 BC.

⁶⁶⁰ Kinns, *ibid.*, identifies the denomination at Teos as the obol. On this subject see in the present study the discussion in the chapter on denominations, pp. 519-23.

its importance a detailed discussion of this aspect of the coinage may be found in pp. 519-23, where I discuss in detail denominations struck by Chios during the late Roman Republic.

Here it suffices to note that coins of this series do not conform with the standard of denominations on the 12 chalkoi to the obol system, long established at Chios, and are therefore likely to represent the obol denomination on the system of eight chalkoi to the obol. No other issue of Chios is known to have been struck within this system and this adds another unusual aspect -to the many already revealed here- for this series.

4. Significance of the obverse type: Series 21 provides us with the only known case of an ancient Chian issue bearing an obverse type other than the sphinx. The uniqueness of this type, and its significance as dating evidence for the series, has made me decide that its potential symbolism deserves to be considered here, rather than relegated to the general discussion in the chapter on the typology of Chian coinage.

The type represents a horse galloping to the left mounted by a child-jockey holding a palm branch high above his head. This is a well-known theme of the later Hellenistic period appearing in various works of art and coins.⁶⁶¹ However there is no evidence of it ever having been adopted as a symbol of Chios and as already suggested above, the Chians copied it from a Roman, not a Greek source. In contrast to this, the thyrsus type of the reverse, is a Dionysiac symbol and may be of local significance, since such types were widely used at Chios.

The typological innovation of the obverse would probably suggest that the issue might have been commemorative, though the discovery of a coin at Delos (see above) makes it clear that it circulated as part of the regular coinage. The absence of a moneyer's name from the legends -a feature only encountered once before, in issues of the diobol (see pp. 273-5)- may also allude to the fact that this was not an ordinary issue.

L. Robert (1933, p. 524) appreciated the unusual typological features of the issue and suggested this was an *agonistic* type linked with a festival honouring Dionysus.⁶⁶² However this explanation does not seem satisfactory since later Chian issues of this type always depict the sphinx in the obverse type.⁶⁶³ In the chapter on typology (561-2) I discuss that the use of

⁶⁶¹ For a work of art depicting this type, see the famous bronze statue of the late Hellenistic period found in the Artemisium wreck in 1928 and housed in the Athens Archaeological Museum; for its use as a coin type, see the tetradrachm struck by Philip II of Macedonia.

⁶⁶² Maurogordato, 1917, p. 215, also links this issue with Dionysos. Note that Crawford, 1974, considers the jockey type appearing on the Roman denarii as an 'agonistic' type since he links it with the *Apollinares games* established by an ancestor of the Piso family members who used this type on their issues.

⁶⁶³ See the so-called *Homereion* issues (1st-2nd century AD) and those commemorating the 'alliance' of Chios and Erythrae during the 3rd century AD, discussed in pp. 604-9.

the sphinx on the obverse of Chian coins may have been obligatory; therefore in the only instance during the eight hundred years of ancient Chian coinage where it was replaced with another type (Series 21), this would have been for a far more important occasion rather than in commemoration of a festival.

If we take into consideration the type and proposed date for this issue it is likely that the type might have been struck in celebration of a military victory. The obverse type of a messenger bringing news of victory (the jockey is holding a palm branch) may also hold allusions to victory at the battlefield. A good indication of this is also found in the reverse type where the vine wreath, typical of all Chian types, is uniquely replaced on this type by a laurel wreath.

In all likelihood this event could be the victory of the Romans over Mithridates during the 1st Mithridatic War, which ended the wholesale suffering of the Chians as a result of Mithridates's policies against them. Its successful conclusion -for the Romans and their allies- quickly followed by the return of the Chian population to their island and their rewarding of freedom and tax immunity, may have led them to express their gratitude to Rome by striking this particular issue, with a type copied from a contemporary Roman issue. As we already saw the Chian mint would have had direct knowledge of this particular Roman issue from denarii circulating on the island at the time.⁶⁶⁴ It seems also possible that the obverse type may have been influenced by the local Roman community residing on the island and which would have been re-established sometime following the end of the war.⁶⁶⁵

There can be little doubt that the type on this issue would not have passed unnoticed by the common people; the absence of the sphinx type would have been particularly

⁶⁶⁴ Note however that if this issue was struck to circulate alongside denarii at Chios, then we also have to consider the possibility that the type could have been chosen at random, not for its symbolism to Chios, but because it happened to appear on the most common denarius issue available at the time.

⁶⁶⁵ See Marshall, 1971, pp. 263-5, on the return of Roman residents to Chios following the end of the 1st Mithridatic War.

striking.⁶⁶⁶ This might not have been particularly welcomed at Chios since no attempt was ever made again by the mint to strike an issue lacking the sphinx. Furthermore there is some evidence that Series 21 may not have been in circulation for a long time. Two of its coins were used as flans for striking coins of the next series (no. 22) bearing the 'traditional' types of sphinx/amphora. Details of the undertypes are clearly visible and unworn suggesting that these coins may have been withdrawn from circulation shortly after their issue, possibly as reaction to their types.⁶⁶⁷

⁶⁶⁶ As it would be, for example, if nowadays the Royal mint issued a coinage in the U.K. lacking the Queen's bust.

⁶⁶⁷ The first coin is illustrated in Pl XXVIII, 'Series 22', fig. 1. The obverse of this coin is overstruck on the obverse of the undertype; the front part of the horse is clearly visible in the lower part of the sphinx. The second coin is illustrated in fig. 2 of the same plate and series. The reverse of the coin is overstruck on the reverse of the undertype; the fillets of the laurel wreath are clearly visible on the body of the amphora.

SERIES 21 [M. 79]

For types of this issue see the discussion in the outline of the coinage.

The denomination is probably an obol on the eight chalkoi to the obol system.

20-1 mm average weight 9 g (5 coins)

One obverse die was used for all of the following coins and a different rev. for each one.

London

B. M.:
10.83g, 7; XION. **fig. 1**

Oxford

A. M.:
Chr. c.: 9.16g, 6; XION. **fig. 2**

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:
no. 1632, V. L. 1904; 9.60g, 9; XION. **fig. 3**

Paris

B. N.:
W. c., no. 3179; 12, 5.40g.; XION, **fig. 4**, ill. Maurogordato, 1917. IX. 14 and L. Robert, 1938, p. 465, fig. 2.

Athens

N. M.:
1908-9, L1544; 9.76g, 7; XIOΣ, **fig. 5**, found at Delos and published in JIAN 1911.

Berlin

M. K.:
I. B.1900, 12, XIOΣ, published by Imhoof-Blumer, 1890, no. 136.

II. 14. BRONZE SERIES 22 (Pl. XXVIII)

1. General aspects: Issues of this series were struck after Series 21 were withdrawn from circulation, since two coins out of the total of three known for Series 22, are clearly overstruck on these issues. It would seem therefore that the denomination also remained the same and that the coins of Series 22 are probably obols on the system of eight chalkoi to the obol.⁶⁶⁸

The types of these issues revert to the traditional Chian symbols of sphinx/amphora and two issues have been recorded bearing the names of ΑΓΓΕΛΗΣ and ...ΚΛΗΣ.⁶⁶⁹ The first moneyer is only known from two coins while the second one is represented by a single considerably worn and damaged specimen in the Berlin Coin Cabinet (acc. no. 979/1912, published in K. Regling, 1915, p. 358); it was not even possible to read the entire name of the moneyer. Both coins of ΑΓΓΕΛΗΣ are found overstruck on issues belonging to Series 21 with undertypes showing little wear. This overstriking suggests that the two series were issued close in time probably indicating a date of around the early/mid 1st century BC for issues of Series 22. The unique coin of ...ΚΛΗΣ was found during an archaeological excavation at the site of Pergamum. Though much worn and corroded it does show enough typological details to classify it as an issue of this series. The name can be reconstructed as any of a number at Chios with this ending.⁶⁷⁰

⁶⁶⁸ This I suggest with great reservation since only three coins are known from this series, one of which is damaged and corroded and the other two overstruck. The evidence therefore for this series as far as the discussion of the Chian bronze denominations is concerned is not reliable (see the discussion in the chapter on bronze denomination, p. 519).

⁶⁶⁹ Maurogordato, 1917, p. 217, recorded in this group only the issue of ΑΓΓΕΛΗΣ....

⁶⁷⁰ Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, includes the names ΠΕΡΙΚΛΗΣ, ΔΗΜΟΚΛΗΣ, ΤΙΜΟΚΛΗΣ, and others.

SERIES 22 [M. 70a]

Obv.: sphinx seated l. with bunch of grapes in front.
Rev: amphora in centre, moneyer's name r. and ethnic l.; all within a wreath

Obol on 8 chalkoi? Half obol on 12 chalkoi ?

Moneyer: ΑΓΓΕΛ.

Athens

E. c.:
8.93g, 9; ΑΓΓΕΛ...; overstr. on issue of Series 21. **fig. 1**

Berlin

M. K.:
L. 1905; 8.25g, 12; ΑΓΓ[ΕΛ...]; overstruck on issue of Series 21. **fig. 2**

Moneyer: ...ΚΛΗΣ

Berlin

M. K.:
Pergamum find, acc. no. 979 / 1912; 5.44g, 12;ΚΛΗΣ; the coin is worn and corroded. **fig. 3**

II. 15. BRONZE SERIES 23 (Pl. XXVIII)

1. General aspects: Issues of Series 23 follow in the line of large denominations that was established with issues of Series 21-22 (see the discussion above). The diameter of its coins of the large denomination -there are also coins of small denominations, see below- is 21mm and similar to that of issues of the earlier two series. However the average weight of the coins at 7.2g is significantly lighter than the average of c 10-9g recorded for issues of Series 21-22. This shows a marked weight difference between Series 21-22 and Series 23, giving the impression that issues of these three series probably belonged to the same denomination, but that the weight standard fell with the issue of the latter. However as I discuss in the chapter on bronze denominations (pp. 519-23), it is more likely that the coins of Series 23 were struck on a different denominational system than that of the earlier issues.

The considerable difference in weight -and to a lesser degree in style- has led me to classify issues of Series 23 in a separate series from Series 22, even though issues of both are typologically similar.⁶⁷¹

The large denomination of Series 23 consists of three different issues bearing the names of ΔΙΟΜΗΔΗΣ, ΔΙΟΜΕΙΔΩΝ and ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ, and a total of nine coins is recorded in this study. A single coin is known for the issue of ΔΙΟΜΕΙΔΩΝ, two for ΔΙΟΜΗΔΗΣ, and six for ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ.⁶⁷² The latter issue may have included a fractional denomination which is known from a single coin. As with the other two series with large bronze denominations (Series 21-22), Series 23 is only known from a small number of coins. The issues are also likely to have been rare even at the time they were struck since a single obverse die was used by all three moneyers and a reverse die by each moneyer. Significantly, almost half of all known coins

⁶⁷¹ Maurogordato, 1917, p. 217, included the ΑΓΓΕ.. issue of Series 22 in the same series as the issues under discussion (his type 70a).

⁶⁷² Note that Maurogordato, 1917, p. 217, type 70a, also recorded in this series a coin inscribed with the name ΔΙΟΝΥ... This in fact is an issue of the either moneyer ΔΙΟΜΕΙΔΩΝ or ΔΙΟΜΗΔΗΣ.

(four coins, which include three of the large denomination and a coin of a fractional denomination) were found at the excavations of Corinth; these finds are presented and discussed in detail below (pp. 359-61).

None of the issues of Series 23 share a moneyer's name in common with a drachm but stylistically their types are identical to the drachms bearing the names of ΠΙΠΑΡΧΟΣ and ΑΕΩΝΙΑΗΣ.⁶⁷³ It is therefore likely that these different types of coinage may have been contemporary and that during this period the striking of precious metal and fiduciary coinages was entrusted to different bodies of moneyers.

2. Fractional denominations ?: Issues of Series 23 may have been struck some time after the cessation of Series 20 since types of the two series are stylistically dissimilar and also lack a moneyer's name in common. These features seem to rule out the possibility that Series 20 could possibly represent a fractional denomination of issues belonging to Series 23. A coin likely to be a fractional denomination of Series 23 is known from a unique specimen that was recovered in the excavations at Corinth.⁶⁷⁴ It shares the same moneyer's name (ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩ-ΡΟΣ) with a large issue of Series 23, and also the same mint symbol (caduceus). The style of its types is also similar, though not identical, to that of issues of the large denomination in this series. (see the illustration, Pl. XXVIII, 'Series 23', fig. 8). The module of this coin probably suggests it is an issue of the dichalkon.

Another small denomination that may be associated with Series 23 -and as the previous issue, is represented by a unique coin- is signed by ΜΕΝΙΠ-ΠΟΣ. The issue shows

⁶⁷³ This similarity in style has already been noted in pp. 340-1, where I discussed features of these particular drachms.

⁶⁷⁴ Found in 1930, north of the temple of Apollo and included in K. M. Edwards, 'Report of Coins, 1930-5', p. 253.

stylistic features that are drawn from both Series 20 and 23.⁶⁷⁵ The obverse type depicts a sphinx which is stylistically identical to that on issues of Series 23, while the reverse type is typical of that of Series 20, especially in the depiction of the amphora type, the use of the Dioscuri caps as mint symbol, and the way of the moneyer's name is inscribed in two separate lines instead of one (see the illustration, Pl. XXVIII, 'Series 23', fig. 9).

K. Whitte (1837) also recorded an issue which is possibly a fraction of the large denomination of Series 23. In his catalogue he recorded the name of ΔΙΟΜΗΔΗΣ on a coin measuring 12 mm in diameter and showing the sphinx seated on a caduceus. The name is the same as that of a moneyer in charge of an issue of Series 23 and this also agrees with the description of the coin's obverse types with the sphinx on caduceus. It would seem that this coin would have been part of an issue of Series 23, though the recorded diameter shows that it would not have belonged to the same denomination as the other coins from this series signed by ΔΙΟΜΗΔΗΣ, but could be a fraction of this issue. The coin has long been untraceable and was already lost by the turn of the century.⁶⁷⁶

3. Proposed dating: An important clue on the general period of issue and circulation of this coinage has been provided from coins found in the excavations at Corinth. All of these are stray finds originating from different sections of the site and obviously would have circulated widely in this city.⁶⁷⁷ As such they are not possible to associate with any other coins either in

⁶⁷⁵ Maurogordato, 1917, p. 236, states that this coin is stylistically similar to drachms on the 'reduced denarius' standard (his Group 69) and issues of Series 20 (his Group 71). However he failed to notice the great stylistic similarity between types of this issues and those of Series 23.

⁶⁷⁶ Maurogordato, 1916, p. 321, 351, did not study this coin, but classified it as an issue his group 67 (Series 19) based on the diameter of the coin recorded by Whitte. The name is also very rare at Chios since it is not found in any inscriptions prior to the early 2nd century AD, (Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 124). This makes highly likely a link between this moneyer and his namesake moneyer of Series 23.

⁶⁷⁷ Three coins from the large denomination were found, and a smaller one. These are, a coin of the moneyer ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ, published by C. Williams, 'Corinth, 1974: Forum SouthWest', *Hesperia* 44, 1975, p. 39, no. 42, where the name of the moneyer is wrongly identified as [ΔΗ]ΜΗΤΡΙ[ΟΣ]; two of ΔΙΟΜΗΔΗΣ, the first one found during the excavation of the Odeion in 1929 and published in the first coin report from the excavation at Corinth by K. M. Edwards in *Corinth, VI, Coins 1896-1929*, Cambridge, Mass., 1933, p. 71, no. 453, with moneyer's name recorded as ΑΔΗ.... The second one was found in 1965, has inv. no. 65.352 and remains unpublished. I

hoards or dated archaeological levels. However they have shed light on various aspects of these issues. First of all they have supplemented the very few coins from this series that were known in the past, and have made it possible to record the names of the moneyers with certainty.⁶⁷⁸ They reveal a pattern of circulation of Chian coinage at Roman Corinth and thus attest to economic contacts between the two cities during the colony's early years; this was never recorded before. More importantly the finds at Corinth have made it possible to consider an accurate date for the issue and circulation of Series 23.

All of the coins display a similar degree of slight wear, indicating a brief circulation, and carry the same countermark consisting of dots arranged in a wheel-like shape. These factors show that the coins would probably have arrived at Corinth together or within a brief period. This is strengthened by the application of the same type of countermark on the coins, revealing that they would have passed through a selective procedure and were then accepted as legal tender at Corinth. Obviously this was done to show that the foreign coins were on the same weight standard as the local coinage and could therefore circulate without restrictions at Corinth.

It is almost certain that the Chian coins were brought to Corinth after the Roman colony was founded in 44 BC and were circulating there alongside issues of the local mint. The evidence suggests that during the early years of the colony there may have been a shortage of base metal currency and the colonists would have had to rely on imports of foreign currency in order to supplement the meager output of their own newly established mint.⁶⁷⁹

would like to acknowledge Dr Zervos for allowing me to include the latter coin in my study. For the small coin of this series bearing the name of ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ and found in 1930, north of the temple of Apollo, see K. M. Edwards, 1937, p. 253.

⁶⁷⁸ See for example, the issue of ΔΙΟΝΥ[...] recorded by Maurogordato, 1917, p. 217, no. 70a. The name of the moneyer is now reconstructed either as ΔΙΟΜΗΔΗΣ or ΔΙΟΜΕΙΔΩΝ on the basis of known issues of this series. The first issue is known from coins found exclusively at Corinth.

⁶⁷⁹ A large number of foreign bronze coins dated to the mid 1st century BC have been found at Corinth. The foundation of the colony coincided with a period when the mint at Rome had long ceased production of bronze

That Chios furnished part of this currency is suggested by the discovery locally of a number of coins belonging to the last issues of Series 19 and Series 20, which -as we saw in the chapters on these series- must have circulated there during the early period of the colony.

By comparing the module of the Chian issues found at Corinth with that of issues of its mint it is possible to suggest an approximate date for their circulation at Corinth and subsequently their date of issue. The Chian coins at Corinth would have circulated alongside the largest struck denomination of the Corinthian *duoviral* coinage, the *as*. When this denomination was first struck by Corinth in c 42-41 BC it measured 23-4 mm and weighed on average 12g. However from c 37 BC its size fell to 20-1 mm and its weight around 7g (see the discussion in the chapter on bronze denominations, p. 529). This became standard for issues of this denomination struck during the Julio-Claudian period. The module and weight of the later issue matches exactly that of the Chian coins of Series 23, leaving little doubt that these coins would have circulated at Corinth after c 37 BC.

The countermark on the coins consist of dots in a wheel-like shape and may represent a mark of value (see Pl. XXVII, 'Series 23', figs. 2, 5, the countermark is visible under the sphinx and in fig. 3 on the sphinx's body). Early issues of Roman Corinth are sometimes found countermarked with marks of value though the countermark on the issues of the *as* is different to that on the Chian ones.⁶⁸⁰ However a similar countermark, described as a 'wheel-shaped ornament' is found on an *as* issue dating to c 30 BC that has been attributed to a Roman mint based on Cephallenia.⁶⁸¹ Interestingly this issue comprises coins of identical average weight and size as issues of Series 23,⁶⁸² suggesting that this countermark was

currency and bronze issues of mints in southern Greece were particularly low (see the chapter on denominations, p. 530).

⁶⁸⁰ Amandry, 1989, pp. 124-8, emission II, M. Insteius C. f. Tectus, L. Cas, and with a date of issue c 42-1 BC.

⁶⁸¹ *RPC I*, no. 1359, p. 272, Cephallenia is a likely mint though not certain. On this issue see also the discussion in the chapter on bronze denominations.

⁶⁸² The average weight of 35 coins of this issue collected by *RPC I* is 6.46g and the diameter of the coins with in the range of 21-2mm.

applied on coins approximating in value to the *as*. It would seem from the standard of these Chian issues -combined also with the date of the other countermarked issues which share the same countermark symbol with issues of Series 23- that they may have circulated at Corinth during the early reign of Augustus and that the Chian issues may date then or slightly earlier, during the 30s BC.

By the late 1st century BC Corinth was producing coinage in sizeable amounts and this would have restricted its dependency on coinage struck at foreign mints. It comes as no surprise therefore to discover that only two Chian coins dating between the late 1st century BC-late 3rd century AD were found at Corinth, in contrast to 12 during the 1st century BC.

4. Epigraphical evidence: Maurogordato considered that the moneyer ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ of Series 23 was the same individual with the namesake moneyer who signed drachms of the ‘reduced denarius’ standard and bronze issues of Series 19 (1917, p. 236). However this seems unlikely, in light of the half century interval between the latter issues and Series 23 and the fact that the epigraphic evidence shows that ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ happens to be the most common Chian name during Hellenistic period.⁶⁸³

Of the other names attested in legends of these issues none is found in contemporary Chian inscriptions. The unusual name ΔΙΟΜΕΔΩΝ is found in a list with names of subscribers dating from a much earlier period than that of the moneyer signing the issue, the 3rd-2nd centuries BC.⁶⁸⁴ The name appears to have been a family one since the individual recorded in this inscription with this name also used it as a patronymic. The moneyer who signed the issue of Series 23 is likely to have been a descendant of the individuals of this inscription.

⁶⁸³ Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, pp. 323-28, nos. 171-200, records over 20 different Chians bearing this name and living during the Hellenistic and early Roman periods.

⁶⁸⁴ The inscription was first published by Sarikakis, 1991, pp. 15-16, and the names appear in line 4.

SERIES 23 [M. 70a]

Obv.: sphinx seated l. on a caduceus, lifting front paw over small bunch of grapes

Rev.: amphora in centre, moneyer's name l. and ethnic r.; all within a vine wreath on which small bunches of grapes are visible.

20-1 mm average weight 7.2g (9 coins)

Half obols on the system of twelve chalkoi to the obol.

Moneyer: ΔΙΟΜΕΙΔΩΝ

London

B. M.:

no. 857; 7.62g, 12; ΔΙΟΜΕΙΔΩΝ] . **fig. 1**

Maurogordato, 1917, p. 217, records a coin in the former Pozzi collection with types and standard similar to issues of this series and may belong to this issue or the following one (he records the legend as ΔΙΟΝΥ..)

Moneyer: ΔΙΟΜΗΔΗΣ

Corinth

A. M.:

1929; 6.69g, 12; [ΔΙΟΜ]ΗΔΗΣ[Σ]; published by Edwards, 1933, no. 453; cmk. **fig. 2**

acc. no. 65-352; 9.37g, 12; ΔΙΟΜΗΔΗΣ[Σ]; cmk. **fig. 3**

Moneyer: ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ

Cambridge

F. M.:

L. c.: 8.00g, 11; ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ] . **fig. 4**

Corinth

A. M.:

acc. no. 30-10-74; 5.64g, 12; ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ]; published Hesperia 1975, p. 39, no. 42; cmk. **fig. 5**

Paris

B. N.:

no. 3134; 6.95g, 12; ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ. **fig. 6**

no. 3135; 8.04g, 12; ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ]; cmk; ill. Maurogordato, 1917, Pl. IX. 3. **fig. 7**

Vienna

K. M.:

no. 17968; 8.10g, 12; name off flan.⁶⁸⁵

Berlin

M. K.:

I. B. 1900; 4.56g, 12

⁶⁸⁵ This coin was wrongly classified by Maurogordato, 1917, p. 218, as a variant of these issues, 70b. He discussed the supposed lack of a moneyer's name in this issue on p. 237, but close study of this coin shows that it belongs to an issue of this moneyer (same dies) though the name is off flan.

Dichalkon

Moneyer: ΜΗΤΡΟΔ-ΩΡΟΣ

Obv.: sphinx seated l. with caduceus symbol in front; type encircled by dots.
Rev.: same type as Series 20.

Corinth

A. M.:
no. 62.564, Edwards, p. 253, ΜΗΤΡΟΔ-ΩΡΟΣ. **fig. 8**

Moneyer: ΜΕΝΙΠ-ΠΟΣ

Obv.: sphinx in the style of Series 23 seated r on club
Rev.: same as type of Series 20; symbol caps of Dioscuri

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:
no. 1630, Ramus no. 39; 2.13g, 6; ΜΕΝΙΠ-ΠΟΣ. **fig. 9**

Whitte records a coin in the name of ΔΙΟΜΗΔΗΣ probably of the chalkous denomination.

II. 16. SERIES 24 (Pl. XXXIX)

1. General aspects: This series comprises issues of the dichalkon (12 mm, average weight around 2g) and some exceptionally rare fractional denominations. Their issues cover in general the period between the late 1st century BC and early 1st century AD and have not been classified in any of the series already discussed. The main reason for this is the fact that their types are of different styles to the other bronze types we have already seen.

The bulk of the coinage in this series originates from three different issues but there is also a residue of unique coins. None of the names on contemporary drachms of Chios (on the 'reduced denarius', Attic or cistophoric weight standard) are found on any of these bronze issues and we lack this important evidence for the chronology of the bronze. It would seem that during the early Imperial period, and in contrast to practice in earlier periods (see for example Series 19, p. 283), the silver and bronze coinages at Chios were entrusted to different authorities. However some of the bronze issues in this series are linked by style with later drachms on the cistophoric standard and the earliest bronze series of Chios bearing denominational values (see below the discussion of these coinages).

2. Groups division:

The first issue consists of nine recorded coins bearing the name of one moneyer, ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΣ. Types of this issue show a slight stylistic resemblance to issues of Series 20 (compare especially fig. 12 of ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΣ⁶⁸⁶ with fig. 3 of ΑΣΠΑΣΙΟΣ) and the moneyer's name is inscribed in two lines which is typical of issues of Series 20. They may be placed in the same general period as issues of Series 20, between the middle of the 1st century BC and the early years of Augustus's reign. The symbol in front of the sphinx is likely to be a lotus.

⁶⁸⁶ This particular coin also has the bunch of grapes symbol in front of the sphinx in contrast to all other known coins that have what looks like a lotus (see below)

This combined with the name of the moneyer suggests that he may probably have originally come from Egypt. Three obverse dies have been recorded for this issue.

The ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΣ issue is the only one in this series that seems to include a fraction, most probably a chalkous. A single coin is known and though the name of the moneyer on this coin is not visible its types are identical to those of ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΣ. It is probably a contemporary fractional issue of the more common (dichalkon) denomination; the diameter of this coin is 7mm, weighing 0.60g, and was probably a half chalkous in value.

Another issue stylistically different to that of the previous moneyer is signed by ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ. One of the coins shows in its legend the letter form of C, while all other coins retain the traditional letter form of the 'Greek' *sigma* Σ with straight bars⁶⁸⁷ This evidence would date the issue anywhere between the late 1st century BC and early 1st century AD during a period when both types of letter forms appear together in the same legend; see below on the coinage of Chios of the early Imperial period with no inscribed denominational values, p. 403. This seems to have been a rather common issue since four obverse dies were recorded for the six coins studied; each of these coins was struck with a different reverse die.

Another issue which is not associated with any of the main bronze series that we have already seen bears the name ΑΡΙΣΤΑΙΧΜΟΣ. It has an unusual depiction of the sphinx holding a wreath with its front paw. A similar type -sphinx with wreath in its front- also appears in one of the Antiochus drachms and suggests that the moneyer, like Antiochus, may also have been appointed to the office of *stephanephoros* (the official title of the highest magistrate at Chios at the time, see p. 616). The rendering of the legend round the flan is a late development -see below, Roman Series I. One obverse die was used for this issue.

⁶⁸⁷ The use of the letter form C in legends of the Chian coinage is discussed in the chapter on 'Roman, Series I'.

The ΣΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ issue is probably of an early to mid 1st century AD date since one of only two recorded coins bears a countermark of a bunch of grapes symbol; this countermark is used on a number of different issues that are dated then (see below, p. 398). The coin shows little sign of circulation and was found in a context at Corinth suggesting that it was issued for circulation after 44 BC.

3. Issues known from a single coin: Of the unique coins that may be attributed to the same period as the above issues, one is signed by ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΣ and bears a rather original depiction of the sphinx which does not conform with that of any other issue of Chios. The type is reminiscent of a work of abstract art; it seems to belong to a die engraver whose work cannot otherwise be identified at the mint of Chios. Various features of the reverse type, such as the letter forms and the way the name is arranged in two lines instead of one suggest a date for the issue between the late 1st century BC and the early 1st century AD.

The unique coin bearing the name ΑΡΓΗΟΣ is stylistically identical with issues of the latest cistophoric drachms of the moneyers ΜΕΝΕΚΡΑΤΗΣ and ΣΚΥΜΝΟΣ dating to the early 1st century AD (see below); the same date may also apply for the bronze issue. Further indication of a date for these issues after the mid 1st century BC is provided from the legend of the moneyer's name which used the letter form for *alpha* with the middle bar broken.

4. Epigraphic evidence: Of the names appearing on issues of Series 24 only ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΣ is found in an inscription which may belong to the same period as the series.⁶⁸⁸ It is dated to the 1st century BC and a link with the namesake moneyer is likely since the name is rarely found in Chian inscriptions of any date.

⁶⁸⁸ Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 123, no. 144. ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΣ son of ΑΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΣ

SERIES 24

Obv.: sphinx of different styles seated r. or l.

Rev.: amphora in the centre, name of moneyer r. and ethnic l.

Dichalkon

Moneyer: ΑΡΓΗΟΣ; sphinx seated l., bird symbol in the ethnic break. [M. 72]

Berlin

M. K.:

no. 28778; 1.98g, 1; ΑΡΓΗΟ[Σ]. **fig. 1**

Moneyer: ΑΡΙΣΤΑΙΧΜΟΣ. sphinx is seated l. on a large palm branch and holds a circular wreath. The moneyer's name appears round the flan. [M. 84]

London

B. M.:

no. 103; 31.8, 7; ΑΡΙΣΤΑΙΧΜΟΣ. **fig. 2**

Athens

N. M.:

no. 5507a; 2.20g, 3; ΑΡΙΣΤΑΙΧΜΟΣ. **fig. 3**

Moneyer: ΑΡΙΣΤΟ-ΚΛΗΣ. sphinx seated r. lifting prow over prow of ship; dotted flan [M. 75]

4 obverse dies

London

B. M.:

no. 917; 1.87g, 3; ΑΡΙΣΤΟ-ΚΛΗΣ. Obv. Die 1 **fig. 4**

no. 916; 2.44g, 6; ΑΡΙΣΤΟ-ΚΛΗΣ. Obv. Die 2 **fig. 5**

K. c.:

no. 40; 2.20g, 6; ΑΡΙΣΤΟ[ΚΛΗΣ]. Obv. Die 3 **fig. 6**

Oxford

A. M.:

Shoptt b. 1975; 1.95g, 6; ΑΡΙΣΤΟ-ΚΛΗΣ; doublestruck. Obv. Die 4? **fig. 7**

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:

no. 1631. V. L. 1897; 1.72g, 6; ΑΡΙΣΤΟ-ΚΛΗΣ. Obv. Die 2 **fig. 8**

Athens

N. M.:

Kanell, coll. 1914. KG' no. 10; 1.78g, 6; ΑΡΙ[ΣΤΟ]-ΚΛΗΣ

Berlin

M. K.:

I. B. 1900; 1.73g, 6; ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ

Italo Vecchi, London: auction catalogue, no. 1, Feb. 1996

no. 303; 2.00g, die axis not recorded; ΑΡΙΣΤΟ-ΚΛΗΣ. Obv. Die 3 **fig. 9**

Moneyer: ΔΙΟΔΩΡ-ΟΣ sphinx seated l. on a staff surmounted by snakes and holding a bunch of grapes with front paw. Isis headdress in ethnic break [M. 72]

Paris

B. N.:

no. 3067; 3.11g, 12. ill. Maurogordato, 1917, Pl. IX. 5. **fig. 10**

Moneyer: ΠΤΟΛΕΜ-ΑΙΟΣ. Sphinx l. lotus flower in front of it. Bunch of grapes symbol in ethnic break [M. 72]

3 obverse dies

London

B. M.:

no. 924; 1.79g, 12; Π]ΤΟΛΕ[Μ]-ΑΙΟ[Σ]. Obv. Die 1 **fig. 11**

Oxford

A. M.:

Milne 1924; 1.98g, 12; [ΠΤΟΛΕ]Μ[-Α]ΙΟΣ. This type shows a bunch of grapes in front of the sphinx. Obv. Die 2 **fig. 12**

Glasgow

G. U.:

H. c. no. 48; 1.74g, 12; ΠΤΟΛΕΜ-ΑΙΟΣ; illustrated in Maurogordato, Pl. LIII. 9. Obv. Die 3 **fig. 13**

Athens

N. M.:

1896-7, IB' I, no. 820, 1.63g, 11, ΠΤΟΛΕΜ-ΑΙΟΣ. Obv. Die 3 **fig. 14**

Paris

B. N.:

no. 3158; 1.61g, 12, ΠΤΟΛΕΜ-ΑΙΟΣ. Obv. Die 3 **fig. 15**

Berlin

M. K.:

L. 1906; 1.46g, 11; ΠΤΟΛΕΜ-ΑΙΟΣ. Obv. Die 3? **fig. 16**

Moneyer: ΣΩΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ [M. 75]

2 obverse dies

Athens

N. M.:

no. 5530a; 1.25g, 12; [ΣΩ]ΣΤΡΑ-ΤΟΣ; sphinx l lifting paw over bunch of grapes; overstruck, small bunch of grapes cmk. on centre of amphora. **fig. 18**

Corinth

A. M.:

Ancient Corinth find, inv. no. 67. 115; 2.86g, 12; ΣΩΣΤΡΑ[ΤΟΣ]; sphinx r. **fig. 19**

Chalkous

Types identical with issues of ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΣ

London

B. M.:

fig. 20

Mail Auction C. Ce. May 1996

no. 208, no details available

II. 17. DRACHMS ON THE CISTOPHORIC WEIGHT

1. General aspects and discussion of the standard:

This series comprises the final silver issues struck during antiquity by the mint at Chios, and each issue averages in weight between c 3.00-3.10g; this standard seems to have fitted well with that of the cistophoric of Asia Minor during the late Republic-early Imperial period.⁶⁸⁹ Two distinctive groups of issues have been identified for this series, one bearing types that are typical of the regular coinage of Chios and another group with types that seem to signify that they were special emissions. The latter issues may have been ‘commemorative’, though, as I discuss below, they seem to have circulated alongside the ‘regular’ drachms. Both groups of issues bear names of moneyers, though it may be noted that for coins in the ‘commemorative’ group these are not featured prominently in the types, as with the ‘regular’ issues. On the ‘commemorative’ issues we find other legends beside the name of the moneyer and legends appear even in the obverse, which is unusual for the Chian coinage.

Since these drachms were struck on the cistophoric standard it is expected that issues of this tetradrachm from mints in Asia Minor would have entered in circulation at Chios. As we saw (p. 315), the weight of drachms on the ‘reduced denarius’ was slipping during the early/mid 1st century BC, suggesting that Chios may have been adjusting the weight of its drachm to that of cistophoric tetradrachm, probably as a result of the circulation of this coinage on the island. The authors of RPC have restricted their discussion of these drachms to the ‘commemorative’ issues (RPC I, p. 409). With one exception, regular issues were not included in this discussion because of the past uncertainty surrounding their period of issue.

⁶⁸⁹ The authors of RPC I, p. 410, have included the average weight of 11 coins of this Chian series set at 2.94g and suggested that it was similar to the standard used at Rhodes during the early 1st century AD. In p. 370, they state that the Chian drachms fitted the cistophoric standard (note that in this page the weight of 13 coins has been included and the average weight is given as 2.89g). However we should note that the majority of coins are clipped, worn, or pierced, and the weight of the coins would have been much heavier and probably on the cistophoric standard. This is confirmed by the average weight of issues given in this study which excluded all clipped and pierced coins (see references to individual issues).

2. Group A, 'regular issues' (Pl. XXVII)

A. 1. General aspects: The names of four different moneyers are found on the regular coinage: ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΣ, ΜΕΝΕΚΡΑΤΗΣ, ΡΑΒΙΠΙΟΣ, and ΣΚΥΜΝΟΣ. The most common issues are those of ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΣ with eight coins (figs. 1-5) and ΡΑΒΙΠΙΟΣ with five (figs. 8-11). Issues of ΜΕΝΕΚΡΑΤΗΣ (figs. 6-7) and ΣΚΥΜΝΟΣ (figs. 12-13) are much rarer and only two coins are recorded in each of these issues. A unique drachm of Chios bearing the name of ΑΣΦΑΛΗΣ was linked by Maurogordato to issues of this series on the basis of a mint symbol, the thyrsos, recorded on this issue and which Maurogordato thought to have appeared commonly on issues of the 1st century BC.⁶⁹⁰ However the recorded weight of this coin at 3.80g, suggests that it was struck on a heavier and therefore earlier standard than the cistophoric. I have therefore excluded it from the discussion of drachms on this weight standard

The number of dies used for drachms of this series was very limited suggesting that the coinage would have been small. All recorded coins of ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΣ were struck from a single obverse and four reverse dies and those of ΡΑΒΙΠΙΟΣ from two obverse and two reverse dies. The ΜΕΝΕΚΡΑΤΗΣ and ΣΚΥΜΝΟΣ issues were struck from a single obverse and two reverse dies each. Most of the coins of this group show surface patina of a brown colour indicating that the quality of silver was poor and debased. If this is verified by metal analysis it would show that their intrinsic value would have been particularly low.

A. 2. Proposed dating: Issues of the 'regular' drachms seem to belong to two groups struck during different periods; ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΣ and ΡΑΒΙΠΙΟΣ form the earliest group,⁶⁹¹ and issues of ΜΕΝΕΚΡΑΤΗΣ-ΣΚΥΜΝΟΣ the later one. The recorded average weight of coins from both issues

⁶⁹⁰ See Maurogordato, 1917, p. 233, who however states that he did not have personal knowledge of the coin. It was published by Imhoof-Blumer, 1890, no. 387, but not illustrated. This particular coin was supposed to be in the Coin Cabinet of Munich but no such coin exists there today; it seems to have been lost around the turn of the century, since Maurogordato who is known to have studied coins of this Cabinet did not come across this coin.

⁶⁹¹ RPC I, p. 410, no. 2414, records the issue of ΡΑΒΙΠΙΟΣ but has wrongly added the name legend of ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΣ in the reverse type of this issue (these two issues were struck by different moneyers).

agrees well with that of the cistophoric standard.⁶⁹² All four coins signed by ΠΑΒΙΠΙΟΣ were struck with dies fixed at 12 o'clock, which is typical of Chian issues of the Hellenistic period. The majority of coins of ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΣ are struck with dies at six o'clock, a development which breaks with the earlier tradition of striking coins with dies at 12. The same is also true for a coin each of ΜΕΝΕΚΡΑΤΗΣ and ΣΚΥΜΝΟΣ showing the die axis at 3 o'clock.

Issues of ΠΑΒΙΠΙΟΣ and ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΣ seem to have succeeded drachms struck in the last group of the 'reduced denarius' weight (see pp. 315-17) since a common typological feature links issues in both these different series. One of the dies used by ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΣ (illustrated in Pl. XXVII, fig. 4) shows the amphora type enclosed in a vine wreath of an identical style as that appearing in the 'reduced denarius' drachm signed by ΔΕΚΜΟΣ. This link would suggest that there could only have been a brief interval between the two issues and therefore the ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΣ issue -and its associated issue of ΠΑΒΙΠΙΟΣ- may date in the early reign of Augustus in accordance with the proposed date for the final issues on the 'reduced denarius' standard, including also that of ΔΕΚΜΟΣ (see below in this chapter for other evidence on the date of the series)

The authors of RPC only included the ΠΑΒΙΠΙΟΣ issue in their discussion of the 'regular' drachms of this series (*RPC I*, pp. 409-10). The main reason for this was the appearance of the letter *alpha* with the broken middle bar in this moneyer's coin legends. This letter form was thought to have been first used at Chios during the mid 1st century AD (*RPC I*, *ibid*). However as we have already seen (Series 20, pp. 329-30), it appears together with the letter form showing the straight middle bar on coins and inscriptions of Chios from the early 1st century BC; its exclusive use at Chios dates from the middle of this century and afterwards.

⁶⁹² Average weight of drachms of ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΣ (3 coins were weighed, two others are worn or pierced): 3.08g; average weight of drachms of ΠΑΒΙΠΙΟΣ (4 coins): 3g; the weight of a drachm of ΜΕΝΕΚΡΑΤΗΣ (the other recorded drachm of this moneyer is clipped and worn): 2.95g; average weight of drachms of ΣΚΥΜΝΟΣ (2 coins): 3.06g

The letter form appears in all coins of ΠΑΒΙΡΙΟΣ, suggesting that this moneyer probably issued after ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΣ, at a time when this form was used exclusively in coin legends and inscriptions. The ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΣ issue shows both letter forms for *alpha* in the legends of its different coins.⁶⁹³

The editors of SNG, *The Leake collection*, (coin no. 4610) suggest a link between the issue of ΠΑΒΙΡΙΟΣ and his namesake proconsul of the province of Asia of 49-45 BC, C. Rabirius Postumus. This seems an attractive theory since the date of this proconsulship is close to the period proposed for the issue in this study. However the failure to record in the legends the title of proconsul and his full name precludes the possibility that the proconsul could have caused coinage to be struck at Chios, supposedly after having been appointed to a high magistracy of the city (examples of this for other foreign dignitaries at Chios are discussed below in this section).⁶⁹⁴ C. Rabirius Postumus governed the province of Asia during the Roman civil war of 49-8 BC, between Caesar and Pompey, which was mostly fought in the Eastern part of the empire. This crisis could have caused Rabirius to issue exceptionally his own silver coinage, which would have been denarii of good silver and certainly not these Chian drachms struck on the cistophoric standard and of debased silver.⁶⁹⁵ Therefore no evidence exists linking the ΠΑΒΙΡΙΟΣ issue at Chios with this namesake Roman magistrate.

It is more likely that the moneyer in charge of this issue would have either been a Roman citizen of Italian descent, one of many known to have resided at Chios during the late Republic, or a local Chian who received Roman citizenship, possibly through his namesake

⁶⁹³ For issues of ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΣ that appear to have used the letter form for alpha with the straight middle bar, see Pl. XXVII, figs. 1, 5.

⁶⁹⁴ This seems to have happened in the provinces of Pontus-Bithynia and Asia where we find a number of Greek civic issues during the late Republic and early Imperial period signed by proconsuls with their full names and titles, see *RPC I*, p. 367.

⁶⁹⁵ No denarii of C. Rabirius Postumus are known, but his predecessor as governor of the province, Lentulus, is known to have struck denarii in a mint of Asia Minor, Kinns, 1987, p. 112. Crawford, 1985, p. 245, suggests that some Chian issues may have been struck as financial aid to Pompey but it is not clear if he was referring to this particular issue with ΠΑΒΙΡΙΟΣ.

proconsul.⁶⁹⁶ If the last is the case, then the issue would not have been produced long after Rabirius was proconsul in the province of Asia. However since this name is absent from Chian inscriptions we lack any evidence that may be associated with the origin and presence of this name at Chios.

The mint symbol on the PABIPIOΣ issue, a star and crescent, seems to refer to Mithridates VI who used this type as one of his emblems. However the proposed date of this issue and the fact that it was struck either by a Roman citizen or a pro-Roman Chian -since he adopted a Roman name- makes it unlikely to be associated with Mithridates.⁶⁹⁷

The issue of ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΣ presents us with an interesting case where the mint has copied the sphinx type from an earlier issue. This as I discuss in the chapter on typology (p. 569) is not coincidental since the artist used as a model the sphinx type appearing on an issue of an earlier namesake moneyer. These moneyers may have belonged to the same family.

Issues of ΜΕΝΕΚΡΑΤΗΣ and ΣΚΥΜΝΟΣ are stylistically very similar and use the same die positions (12 and 3 o'clock), though they do not share a common obverse die. They seem to form a group which is later than that of the ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΣ-PABIPIOΣ (see below). Their average weight is around 3g, which is close to the cistophoric standard, or even the standard at Rhodes during the early-mid 1st century AD.⁶⁹⁸ There is a distinctive stylistic similarity between types of the ΜΕΝΕΚΡΑΤΗΣ and ΣΚΥΜΝΟΣ drachms with some of the issues of Roman Series I dating to the early/mid 1st century AD.⁶⁹⁹ Furthermore a coin of ΣΚΥΜΝΟΣ shows the sphinx with a lotus flower in its front paw, a type typically used on these bronze issues (see p. 397).

⁶⁹⁶ The latter was claimed by Sarikakis, 1970, pp. 201-2. For Romans residing at Chios during this period see the historical background (pp. 35-36).

⁶⁹⁷ For an interpretation of mints symbols appearing on other issues of this group, see the discussion in the chapter on typology, pp. 612-8.

⁶⁹⁸ Note that only two coins are known of each of these issues -and one coin each is worn; this makes it impossible for us to be certain about their weight standard, if it is cistophoric or on the lighter 'Rhodian' cistophoric standard. For the latest discussion on drachms of Rhodes struck on an average weight of 2.9-2.8g and slightly lighter than the cistophoric, see Ashton and Weiss, 1997, pp. 37-39.

⁶⁹⁹ In particular issues of ΦΑΥΣΤΟΣ; see Pl. XXX, figs. 6-7, 13, and Pl. XXXI, figs. 22-23.

On this evidence I would suggest that drachms of these two moneyers may have been contemporary with bronze issues dating to the early/mid 1st century AD and are probably the last 'regular' silver issues struck at Chios.

Issues of all four moneyers on the cistophoric standard used letter forms with the same distinctive type of 'apices'. This feature appears commonly on inscriptions of the period 50-1 BC and slightly later but not on earlier inscriptions.⁷⁰⁰ Though this feature is not particularly helpful in suggesting a more accurate date for the individual issues it does provide us with further confirmation of a proposed date in the second half of the 1st century BC and early 1st century AD. Of the earlier issues on the 'reduced denarius' standard only that of ΔΕΚΜΟΣ shows this type of apices in the letter forms, and this issue provides us with a further link between drachms on the 'reduced denarius' and the cistophoric standard (see also above the sharing of an identical wreath type on issues of these different standards). In the same way issues of ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΣ linked the cistophoric issues with those of the 'reduced denarius' through the use of an identical wreath.

A. 3. Epigraphic evidence for the 'regular' issues: Only the name ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΣ is found in an inscription dating to the same period as that proposed for the drachms. This is a catalogue of names that are thought to belong to eponymous magistrates and dated 50-1 BC.⁷⁰¹ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΣ was a relatively common Chian name from the 1st century AD and onwards, but scarce in earlier periods.⁷⁰²

⁷⁰⁰ Forrest, IG, XII, 6, Face B' (50-1 BC) show letters with apices identical to the ones appearing on the drachms; Face A' (100-50 BC) seem to have letters lacking apices.

⁷⁰¹ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΣ; Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 71, no. 559; Forrest, 1960, no. 381

⁷⁰² Sarikakis, *Chian Prosopography*, p. 70, no. 556, records only one other known appearance of this name in a Chian inscription before the 1st century BC.

DRACHMS ON THE CISTOPHORIC STANDARD reigns of Augustus and Tiberius

Obv.: sphinx seated to the l. on line with some issues showing a prow of ship in front (and the ship's rudder behind the sphinx); small bunch of grapes in front. All within circle consisting of large dots
Rev.: amphora in the centre, name of moneyer in the field r., ethnic legend XI-OΣ in field to l. A symbol appears in the break of the ethnic legend.

Moneyer: APTEMIDΩPOΣ. Reverse mint symbol, acrostolium. [M. 69]
av. weight :3.08g (2 coins)

London

B. M.:
no. 53; 3.05g, 5; APTEMIDΩ-POΣ. Coin is worn. **Pl. XXVII, fig. 1.** Obv. Die 1, Rev. Die 1

Cambridge

F. M.:
M. c., no. 8373; 2.68g, 6; APTEMID[Ω-POΣ]. Coin is pierced and worn. **fig. 2.** Obv. Die 1, Rev. Die 2

Chios

K. L.:
A. c.; not weighed, 6; APTEMIDΩ-POΣ. **fig. 3.** Obv. Die 1, Rev. Die 3

Paris

B. N.:
W. c., no. 2009; 19.00 mm, 3.22g, 12; APTEMIDΩ-POΣ. **fig. 4.** Obv. Die 1, Rev. Die 4, reverse enclosed wreath. *

Berlin

M. K.:
P. O.1875; 2.97g, 5; APTEMIDΩ-POΣ. **fig. 5.** Obv. Die 1, Rev. Die 2 *

Moneyer: MENEKPATHΣ. Sphinx lifts front paw over front of ship. Reverse mint symbol, wreath [M. 69]

average weight: Both coins are clipped and worn and cannot produce a reliable average weight.

London

B. M.:
no. 850; 17.00 mm, 2.95g, 12; MENEKPATHΣ. The coin is clipped and worn. In 1857 this coin was owned by Gustave Lorchis, ambassador of Sweden in Spain. **fig. 6.** Obv. Die 1, Rev. Die 1*

Vienna

K. M.:
no. 33586; 19.00 mm, 2.82g, 3; MENEKPATH[Σ]. The coin is worn. **fig. 7.** Obv. Die 1, Rev. Die 2 *

Moneyer: PABIPIOΣ. The sphinx lacks the prow of ship in front of it. Reverse mint symbol, star and crescent. [M. 80; RPC 2414].

av. weight: 3g (4 coins):

Cambridge

F. M.:
l. c., no. 4610; 2.99g, 12; PABIPIOΣ. **fig. 8.** Obv. Die 1, Rev. Die 1 *

Paris

B. N.:

no. 3035; 3.21, 12; PABIPIOΣ. **fig. 9.** Obv. Die 2, Rev. Die 2 *
W. c., no. 3045; 2.67g, 12; PABIPIOΣ. **fig. 10.** Obv. Die 1, Rev. Die 1 *

Berlin

M. K.:

F. 1873; 2.96g, 12; PABIPIOΣ. **fig. 11.** Obv. Die 2, Rev. Die 1 *

Moneyer: ΣΚΥΜΝΟΣ. Sphinx lifts front paw over prow of ship. Reverse mint symbol, cornucopia [M. 69]

av. weight: 3.06g (2 coins)

Paris

B. N.:

no. 3032; 18.00 mm, 2.97g, 12; [Σ]ΚΥΜΝΟΣ. **fig. 12.** Obv. Die 1, Rev. Die 1 *

Vienna

M. K.:

no. 17925; 20.00 mm, 3.15g, 3; ΣΚΥΜΝΟΣ. **fig. 13.** Obv. Die 1, Rev. Die 2 *

3. Group B, 'commemorative issues':

B. 1. General aspects: All of the so-called 'commemorative' drachm issues of this series are included in the discussion of RPC I (nos. 2412-3, 2415-6). They comprise three different issues bearing one of the following legends, 'ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ', 'ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΣ', or 'ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΔΩΡΟΝ'. The first two issues also bear the names of the same pair of Chian moneyers (ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ-ΕΥΔΗΜΟΣ), showing that they were struck during the same period. The issues with ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΔΩΡΟΝ belong to two different categories distinguished by style, letter forms and the name of a moneyer or magistrate inscribed in the exergue of the obverse.

The legends suggest that this may have been an exceptional coinage, not conforming with regular issues of Chios, though the inclusion of names of Chian officials show that they were struck locally and formed part of the island's official civic issues. Issues of ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣ makes it clear in its reverse legend that they represent a gift of a king (*basilews*) to Chios. This is a unique feature for the Chian coinage and provides us with the only case for a Chian issue that may be dated with certainty within a given period from the legends of its types.

B. 2. The 'ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ' issue (fig. 1-7): This is the only Chian issue referring in general, however vaguely, to the Roman emperor, and acknowledging in this way his authority. Nevertheless even this issue lacks the bust of an emperor and his name, and gives no obvious date of issue. Evidently no particular reign may be ascribed to the issue with certainty, since the title ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ (the Greek translation of *Augustus*) may allude to any emperor.

Seven coins are known, struck from two obverse and seven reverse dies, with an average weight of 2.74g. This is far too low for an issue of the cistophoric weight but it must

be noted that all of the coins are worn and clipped and originally the weight of individual issues would have been much higher, and probably on the cistophoric standard.⁷⁰³

B. 3. Proposed dating: Maurogordato considered the ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ issue as struck by Chios in c 30 BC,⁷⁰⁴ and associated it with the beginning of the Principate under Octavian (1917, 84 BC-reign of Augustus, p. 207). However even considering the legend on its own precludes any date prior to 27 BC, when the title *Augustus* or *Sebastos* in Greek, was conferred by the Roman Senate for the first time.

The legend ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ⁷⁰⁵ is in the genitive and translates ‘*of the emperor*’.⁷⁰⁶ This therefore refers not only to the (unnamed) emperor, as it would have done, had it been in the nominative, but clearly declares that something (unknown) belongs to him. Maurogordato came up with the least likely explanation for this legend directly associating it with the pair of moneyers that are named on the reverse. His reconstruction of the obverse legend [ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΙ ΤΟΥ] ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ, translated as ‘[generals of] Augustus’ is highly unlikely.⁷⁰⁷

One explanation for the use of the genitive in this title lies with the type itself since the position of the legend indicates that it may refer to the sphinx. Thus ‘of the emperor’ may apply to the sphinx present on the obverse. It is well known that this symbol was adopted by Augustus as his personal emblem shortly after becoming the sole ruler of the Roman Empire.⁷⁰⁸ The Chians may have decided to honour the fact that the emperor used as his personal symbol a type which had for a long time been identified with them and the coin

⁷⁰³ The coins have suffered considerable loss of weight through circulation; only a single coin illustrated as fig. 4 of this group, is in a relatively unworn condition

⁷⁰⁴ Octavian was given the title of Augustus (ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ, in Greek) in 27 BC and this is the earliest possible date for this particular issue.

⁷⁰⁵ Imhoof-Blumer, 1890, no. 395, and BMC, p. 339, record the legend ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ on these issues: Maurogordato, 1917, p. 249-50 corrects him by showing the legend in its right form as ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ

⁷⁰⁶ The absence of the preposition ΕΠΙ makes it clear that it is no indication of date.

⁷⁰⁷ He has arbitrarily chosen the title of strategos even though it is far from clear if these moneyers were officials and of what authority; see the discussion in the chapter on typology, pp. 612-21.

⁷⁰⁸ Possibly a reference to his conquest of Egypt, see Suetonius, *Life of Augustus*, 50; Pliny, *Natural History*, 37.4.

legend may proclaim this (see in particular the discussion in the chapter on typology, pp. 560-7, of the use of the sphinx as a coin type at Chios).

It is likely that the title may refer to Augustus on account of the fact that he is the only emperor known to have used the sphinx as his personal emblem. However sometime early in his reign he replaced this by a portrait of Alexander the Great (Pliny, NH, 37, 40). The brief use of the sphinx symbol by Augustus also seems to be reflected in the few years, early in his reign, when the Augustan sphinx type appears in the empire's coinage. Cistophori struck at Pergamum with the sphinx type are dated slightly later than 27 BC,⁷⁰⁹ while official Roman issues -aurei and denarii- of the same mint bearing this type date in 19-18 BC (*RIC*, p. 113, nos. 505-526). A bronze issue of Athens featuring a sphinx on the reverse and belonging chronologically to the early Augustan period is directly linked by Kroll to the emperor's visits to the city in 22-1 and 19 BC (*Agora XXVI*, p. 88-89).

The issues struck at Pergamum bear the title AVGVSTVS located in the field above the sphinx, in the same position where this title (in Greek) appears on the Chian drachm.⁷¹⁰ This strongly suggests that the type on the Chian issue was inspired from the depiction of the sphinx on the cistophoric tetradrachms and the 'official' Roman coinages referred to above;⁷¹¹ the Chian issue would therefore date after c. 27 BC when the earliest of these issues were produced.⁷¹²

⁷⁰⁹ *RPC I*, nos. 2204, 2207, 2210, dating 'soon after 27 BC'. A. M. Woodward, 'Notes on the Augustan Cistophori', *NC* 6, 12 (1952), pp. 19-32, pp. 23-25, claims that some of these issues may have been struck at Chios. However the evidence he quotes is based on typological details and is suggestive; no other numismatist has accepted Chios as a mint striking these issues. We may note that the cistophorus was the official currency of the province of Asia and Chios was not part of the province at the time (see the discussion in the historical background, p. 39). Woodward does not seem to have known of the ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ drachm of Chios since he could have used the general typological similarity between this issue and the cistophoric tetradrachm as evidence in support of his theory.

⁷¹⁰ Compare illustrations, Pl. XXVII, 'commemorative drachms', figs. 1-7, with fig. A of the same plate

⁷¹¹ The Chians would have had first hand knowledge of this type since cistophoric tetradrachms and aurei would have circulated at Chios at the time (see p. 667).

⁷¹² On the subject of provincial mints copying types from the Roman official coinage or that of other provincial mints see *RPC I*, p. 46.

The sphinx on the Chian drachm does not copy stylistically the one appearing on the Roman coinages and continues the same style as types appearing on other contemporary issues of Chios. Furthermore, it also includes the traditional bunch of grapes in front of the sphinx which is absent from the type on the Roman coinages. This shows that the Chian mint only went as far as copying the idea of the type (sphinx and emperor's title) from these foreign issues but refrained from copying the sphinx itself on the coinage. In other words, the sphinx on the Chian drachm might have been linked in the coin legend with the emperor but it still remained essentially a Chian symbol.

Interestingly we seem to have a representation in a work of art which seems to combine elements from both the Chian issue and the Roman ones mentioned above. This is a cameo showing the type of the sphinx present on the Roman coinage (the sphinx of Augustus) but with legend CHIVS (in latin) instead of AVGVSTVS round the flan above the sphinx.⁷¹³ We have here a clear link between the sphinx of Augustus and that of Chios, something I have suggested also happens with the type on the ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ drachms. Unfortunately we do not know where this cameo was produced but it seems to me likely that this could have been Chios.

The foreign issues with the Augustan sphinx suggest that the Chian drachm may also belong to the early reign of Augustus, and perhaps not later than the early 10s BC, the period of the latest issue of this type. It would seem that the emperor may have dropped this emblem shortly afterwards.

The legend of the obverse may reflect an exceptional issue made in honour of the emperor Augustus. Unfortunately it provides us with no further clue as to the reason behind the striking of this issue; as I suggest above even the fact that Augustus used the sphinx as his

⁷¹³ Ancient Numismatic List 39, A13. The place of production and the find spot of this cameo is unknown; see Pl. XXVII, fig. b of this study for an illustration.

personal symbol may have been reason enough for the Chians to commemorate it on their coin issue. Nevertheless in the historical background, (p. 42), I discuss a number of occasions that may be plausibly linked to this issue; most attractive of these seems to be the financial aid that the Emperor is known to have sent to Chios in the aftermath of the earthquake of c. 24 BC (see the historical background, p. 42). The possibility that this coinage may have represented an imperial benefaction is further suggested by the absence of the ethnic legend. The only other known case of the ethnic missing from issues of Chios is found in drachms which record in their legends that they are a gift of king Antiochus.

B. 4. The 'ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΣ' issue (fig. 8): This issue is known from a single coin and is directly linked with the 'ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ' issue since both were signed by the same pair of moneyers (ΕΥΔΗΜΟΣ and ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ) whose names appear in the reverse type. On this evidence it is clear that these would have been contemporary issues. The obverse legend of the coin consists of traces of the full name and titles of an individual which Imhoof-Blumer has plausibly recorded as ΦΟΥΡ.....ΣΣΙΦΑΥΛΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΣ (1890, p. 656, no. 394).⁷¹⁴

There is no indication in the legend that this might have been the moneyer in charge of the issue, and in any case the pair ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ-ΕΥΔΗΜΟΣ named on the reverse are certainly the moneyers; it seems to me more likely that the individual named on the obverse initiated and may have paid the expenses of the production of these coins. It seems that the issue was struck in connection with the individual's appointment to a high ranking magistracy, and could therefore represent a gift on his part to the citizens of Chios marking this occasion. We possess a fragment of a Chian inscription from the early Imperial period honouring an individual who made a gift of ten thousand drachms to the city upon his appointment as a priest of the cult of Herakles and Hermes, and possibly also the Imperial cult; this individual also held the office of eponymous magistrate at the time (Robert, 1938, p. 140). Only the last name of this individual survives in the inscription and this happens to be ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΣ, which is identical with the individual named on the issue.⁷¹⁵ There is no other known appearance of this name at Chios, except in this inscription and the issue, suggesting that the individual referred to in both cases could have probably been the same. If this is the case then this issue may represent the money that he paid on his appointment to the priesthood as recorded in the inscription.

⁷¹⁴ An individual of similar name (ΓΕΣΣ. ΦΑΥΛΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΣ) is known to have struck coinage at Smyrna, during the reign of Nero, RPC I, p. 420, no. 2478. Maurogordato, 1917, p. 249, suggests that this individual would probably have been a descendant -a grandson?-of the individual recorded on the Chian issue.

⁷¹⁵ The authors of RPC I, p. 4, state that *Philopatris* was a honourofic title given to benefactors of the city.

It is interesting that ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΣ recorded in the inscription made his donation in drachms, not denarii,⁷¹⁶ suggesting that during the early Imperial period the denarius may not have yet been in use at Chios. The single known coin from this issue weighs 3.78 g which is much heavier than the cistophoric standard used during the same period for the issue of local drachms; it is on the same standard as the denarius. A careful study of the coin revealed faint traces of an undertype showing that the coin is overstruck, probably on a denarius. In any case this Chian coin must have circulated and been accepted abroad as a denarius, but was still called a drachm on account of it bearing Chian types and legends in Greek.

It seems that this unique coin represents a gift by an individual to Chios made in denarii and then restruck in drachms. The positioning of his name on the obverse around the sphinx is probably a sign of honour and may reflect the importance of his benefaction (for a similar example see the above issue with the legend 'ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ' prominently featured above the sphinx). We possess other examples of local and foreign dignitaries donating money to the city upon their appointment to a magistracy at Chios, for example Rhoemetalces I, king of Thrace (IGRR, IV, 941; Vanseveren, 'Inscriptions de Chios', p. 335), but the most famous is discussed in the following section.

⁷¹⁶ The name of the denomination does not survive but line 4 has been reconstructed by Robert as [ΔΡΑΧΜΑΣ ΜΥΡΙΑΣ. This is correct as the form ΜΥΡΙΑΣ indicates a denomination which is in the feminine as the drachm is but not the denarius, which in Greek is in the neutral.

SERIES WITH ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ reign of Augustus ? [M. 82; RPC 2412]

Obv.: sphinx seated l., bunch of grapes in front, legend ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ inscribed above from l. to r. All within a dotted circle
Rev.: amphora in centre, name ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ to the l. and ΕΥΔΗΜΟΣ to the r. {a} or ΕΥΔΗΜΟΣ to the l. and ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ to the r. {b} No ethnic legend

av. weight : 2.74g, all coins are either pierced or clipped and worn

London

B. M.:

2.42 ; ΔΙΟΓΕΝ[ΗΣ] ΕΥΔΗΜΟΣ {a}; coin is worn. **Pl. XXVII**, 'commemorative' **fig. 1**. Obv. Die 1, Rev. Die 1

Glasgow

G. U.:

H. c., Chios no. 47: 3.14g, 12; ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ ΕΥΔΗΜΟΣ {a}; coin is clipped and worn. **fig. 2**. Obv. Die 1, Rev. Die 2

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:

no. 1628; 3.43g, 12; ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ ΕΥΔΗ[ΜΟΣ] {a}; coin is clipped and worn. **fig. 3**. Obv. Die 1, Rev. Die 3

Paris

B. N.:

no. 3040; 2.41g, 12; ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ [Ε]ΥΔΗΜΟ[Σ] {a}. coin is clipped. **fig. 4**. Obv. Die 1, Rev. Die 4

no. 3218; 2.55g, 6; ΕΥΔΗΜΟ[Σ] ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗ[Σ] {b}; coin is worn. **fig. 5**. Obv. Die 1, Rev. Die 5

Berlin

M. K.:

no. 28723; 2.65g, 1; ΕΥΔΗΜ[ΟΣ] ΔΙΟΓΕ[ΝΗΣ] {b}; coin is clipped and worn. **fig. 6**. Obv. Die 2, Rev. Die 6

no. 3386; 2.45g, 1; ΕΥΔΗΜΟ[Σ] ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ {b}; coin is pierced. **fig. 7**. Obv. Die 1, Rev. Die 7

MG.cata. no. 656:

no. 395; 3.16, die axis not recorded.

ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΣ issue [M. 81; RPC 2413]

Obv.: sphinx seated r.; [ΓΕ]ΣΣΙΟΣ[Φ]ΑΥΛΟΣΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΣ round flan

Rev.: amphora in the centre, ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ to the l. and ΕΥΔΗΜΟΣ to the r. Ethnic legend XI-ΟΣ

Berlin

M. K.:

19.00 mm, 3.78g, 9; overstruck on other issue possibly a denarius. **fig. 8**

B. 5. The 'ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΔΩΡΟΝ' issues (figs. 9-14): These drachms bear in the reverse the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΔΩΡΟΝ, inscribed in three lines (containing one word each), two on the right of the amphora and one on the left. The coins have in the exergue of the obverse the first four letters of two different names, either ΦΗΣΙ[ΝΟΣ] or ΜΙΝΥ[ΚΙΟΣ?]; the issues may therefore have not been struck together but belong to two different emissions. The different issues are also distinguished from each other by style and letter forms. However they could not have been separated by a long interval, since both bear the same main legend with the name of King Antiochus.

Coins in the first group showing the name ΦΗΣΙ[ΝΟΣ] in the exergue (figs. 9-13) use the letter forms Σ, Ε and five coins are known, struck from five obverse and four reverse dies. The sphinx on this issue has a laurel wreath in front of its body. The second group is represented by a unique coin bearing the name ΜΙΝΥ[ΚΙΟΣ?] in the exergue (fig. 14);⁷¹⁷ the legends show the letter forms of C and Ε, and the traditional bunch of grapes symbol in front of the sphinx (*RPC I*, p. 409-410).

The reverse legend records that the issues were a 'gift of king Antiochus' without however giving any further information on the identity of this foreign ruler. Imhoof-Blumer identified him as Antiochus IV of Commagene (1890, p. 657, nos. 398-9), and even though this theory was challenged by Maurogordato (1917, pp. 207-10), it is generally accepted today.⁷¹⁸ This is now confirmed by the discovery of no less than five different Chian inscriptions referring to donations made by this ruler to the city of Chios (and honours and

⁷¹⁷ Maurogordato, 1916, pp. 227, 254, 257; Idem, 1918, p. 75, proposed this restoration and it is plausible, though the name is not found in any Chian inscription. The name originates from a Roman *gen* and the individual bearing it would probably have been a Roman resident of Chios; see Sarikakis, 1970, p. 201, who discusses the likely presence of members of this *gen* at Chios.

⁷¹⁸ Head, 1911, p. 601; L. Robert, 1938, p. 139; Howgego, 1985, p. 86; *RPC I*, p. 409-10. Maurogordato, challenged this identification since he considered that the style of the issues was too early for the reign of Antiochus IV and attributed them to Antiochus II. He was influenced in this by M. T. Reinach, *La Dynastie de Commagene, L'Histoire par les Monnaies*, (Paris, 1905), p. 247, f. 1 -Maurogordato quotes him in p. 208-, who had already proposed that Antiochus I or II were the benefactors of Chios.

magistracies that he received in return). Two of the inscriptions explicitly record amounts of money and bullion sent by Antiochus to Chios and which could be linked with the issue of the coinage bearing his name.⁷¹⁹

Commagene was a small client kingdom of the early Roman Empire located in eastern Asia Minor, of importance for the safety of this part of the Empire due to its location as a buffer zone between the Empire's eastern borders and the Parthian Empire. This kingdom was ruled by Antiochus IV from 37 to 72 AD, with a short break between 41-45 AD.⁷²⁰ The period of his reign provides us with the chronological limits for these issues at Chios. However it is impossible to ascertain a more precise date for the issues since the inscriptions referring to Antiochus' gifts of money and bullion to Chios, and which may be contemporary with the issues, are not dated with precision. Antiochus may have bestowed his gifts on Chios, including paying for the issues, during the reign of Nero (54-68 AD), when displays of his philhellenism might have reflected this particular emperor's own policies. Indeed one of the inscriptions commemorating the building of public baths at Chios paid for by Antiochus also refer to Nero as emperor.⁷²¹ However Antiochus seems to have had a connection with Chios right from the beginning of his reign since another Chian inscription mentions him alongside the emperor Caligula (for references to this inscription see pp. 44).

Dr. Howgego has suggested that the issues were probably struck from 15 talents of silver that are attested epigraphically as a gift of Antiochus to Chios (1985, p. 86, reiterated in *RPC I*, p. 9). This may be reflected in the large number of dies used in striking the issues since

⁷¹⁹ Donation of 10.000 denarii to Chios: IG XII, no. 490 & IGR, vol IV, 954; donation of 15 talents of silver: Robert, 1938, pp. 139-141; Howego, 1985, p. 86. For donations of Antiochus to projects in the city of Chios, and honours bestowed upon him in return, see L. Robert, 1938, pp. 128-139. For these and other Chian inscriptions referring to Antiochus see below, and for a discussion of the political and economic repercussions of these gifts see the chapters on the historical background (pp. 44-45) and the economy (pp. 663-4).

⁷²⁰ See Reinach, 1905, for an account of the history of Commagene during the early Roman Imperial period and the reign of Antiochus IV

⁷²¹ *RPC I*, p. 410, uses the evidence of this inscription for dating the issues to the reign of Nero

all six known coins were struck from different obverse dies. The issues would have been much larger compared to the other issues of Chios of the cistophoric standard, where each used up to a maximum of two obverse dies. It is therefore likely that Chios may have produced this issue by coining the entire stock or a large part of the 15 talents of silver.⁷²² The issues bearing the name of Antiochus could have been struck in order to pay for the building of a bath complex at Chios which is linked with his name in the inscription presented above.

The issues may also represent the usual money gifts donated by a local or foreign dignitary upon appointment to a local magistracy.⁷²³ An inscription records the names of Antiochus and his wife Iotape in a catalogue of names, possibly of successive eponymous magistrates of Chios. Interestingly we seem to find further evidence on the appointment of Antiochus to this office in his coin type with the name ΦΗΣΙ[ΝΟΣ]. The sphinx of this particular type is shown with a laurel wreath in front of it instead of the usual bunch of grapes. Since the wreath was used as the emblem of the eponymous magistrate at Chios this probably alludes to the appointment of Antiochus as the eponymous magistrate of Chios.⁷²⁴ If indeed Antiochus sent the 15 talents of silver to be coined and distributed to the Chians then I suspect that this donation may have represented a sum of money given to each citizen of Chios.

⁷²² This is also implied by Howgego, 1985, p. 94, who considers that the coinage would have then been distributed locally at Chios. The authors of *RPC I*, p. 9, suggest that only a fraction of this bullion might have been minted, in view of the very few coins that survive. However this suggestion was made before a die count for this coinage was available. Certainly if the issues were struck from one of the known donations of Antiochus to Chios, then we can exclude the possibility that it could have been the gift of 10.000 denarii recorded in IG XII, no. 490, since the number of dies is too high for overstriking such a small number of coins. This makes a link of the issues with the donation of the 15 talents of silver even more attractive.

⁷²³ See the discussion in the previous section on the drachm of ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΣ. This explanation for the striking of the *Antiochus* issues at Chios is considered by Robert, 1938, p. 139.

⁷²⁴ See the chapter on typology (p. 615) where I discuss in detail the potential symbolism of the objects appearing on the coinage of Chios. The eponymous magistrate was known at Chios as *stephanephoros* - 'the wreathed one' - and therefore this symbol would refer to his office. A less likely explanation for the appearance of the laurel wreath on this issue bearing the name of Antiochus is Nero's victory in the Armenian expedition of 58-61 AD, led by his general Corbulo; Antiochus was an ally of the Romans and made an important contribution to their victory. Tacitus, *The Annals of Imperial Rome*, XIII, 6.

The coin by ΜΙΝΥ[ΚΙΟΣ] has, as far as I can tell, the usual bunch of grapes symbol in front of the sphinx. It also bears a countermark of grapes which as we will see links it with the earliest issues bearing inscribed denominational values (see p. 404).

These issues provide us with the best evidence on the introduction of different letter forms on Chian coins and inscriptions. The drachm of Antiochus bearing the name ΜΙΝΥ[ΚΙΟΣ?] shows the earliest known occurrence of the letter forms C € in a coin legend at Chios; these will become permanent on all Chian issues during the later Roman period.⁷²⁵

⁷²⁵ Interestingly a similar use of letter forms appears on the coinage of Commagene contemporary with these Chian issues. Antiochus also seems to have used both groups of letter forms Σ, Ε, and C, € on his own coinage; the latter group of letterforms appearing in, *RPC I*, no. 3856.

SERIES OF KING ANTIOXOS reign of Nero

Group A' [M. 88; RPC 2415]

Obv.: sphinx seated l., wreath appears high in front of it. ΦΗΣΙ[ΝΟΣ] in exergue. All within dotted circle
Rev.: amphora in the centre, legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ-ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ in two lines to r. of amphora; ΔΩΡΟΝ
in one line l. All within vine wreath tied r. of the legend with a bunch of grapes

Average weight of this issue: 2.78g; only a single coin is not worn and weighed 3.40g

Oxford

A. M.:

2.52g, 8; obv. legend worn; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩ[Σ]-ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ[Υ]-ΔΩΡΟΝ; coin is worn. **fig. 9**. Obv. 1, Rev. 1

Copenhagen

D. N. M.:

no. 1629; 2.36g, 9; obv. legend worn; [ΒΑΣ]ΙΛ[ΕΩΣ]-ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ[Υ]-ΔΩΡΟ[Ν]; coin is worn. **fig. 10**. Obv. 2, Rev. 2

Paris

B. N.:

3.20g, 12 : ΦΗΣΙ[Ι]; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩ[Σ]-ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ-ΔΩΡΟ[Ν]. **fig. 11**. Obv. 3, Rev. 3

W. c., no. 3038; 2.68g, 12; ΦΗΣΙ[Ι]; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ-ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ-ΔΩΡΟΝ. **fig. 12**. Obv. 4, Rev. 2

Vienna

M. K.:

no. 18012; 1.92g, 9; [ΦΗ]ΣΙ; [Β]ΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ-ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ-ΔΩΡΟΝ. **fig. 13**. Obv. 5, Rev. 4

Group B': [M. 89; RPC 2416]

Same as above but ΜΙΝΥ in obv. exergue and letter forms C and C in legends.⁷²⁶

Berlin

M. K.:

19.00 mm, 2.90g, 6; ΜΙΝΥ[ΚΙΟΣ?] in exergue; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ-ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ-ΔΩΡΟ[Ν]; coin is countmarked in the centre of
the amphora with a bunch of grapes cmk. **fig. 14**

⁷²⁶ The small lettering of the name in the exergue and the worn condition of the unique specimen makes the reading of the letters uncertain. However after studying the coin I can exclude the possibility that the letters stand for ΜΗΝ, as I previously thought from studying illustrations of the coin, and tend to accept ΜΙΝΥ as proposed by Maurogordato.

